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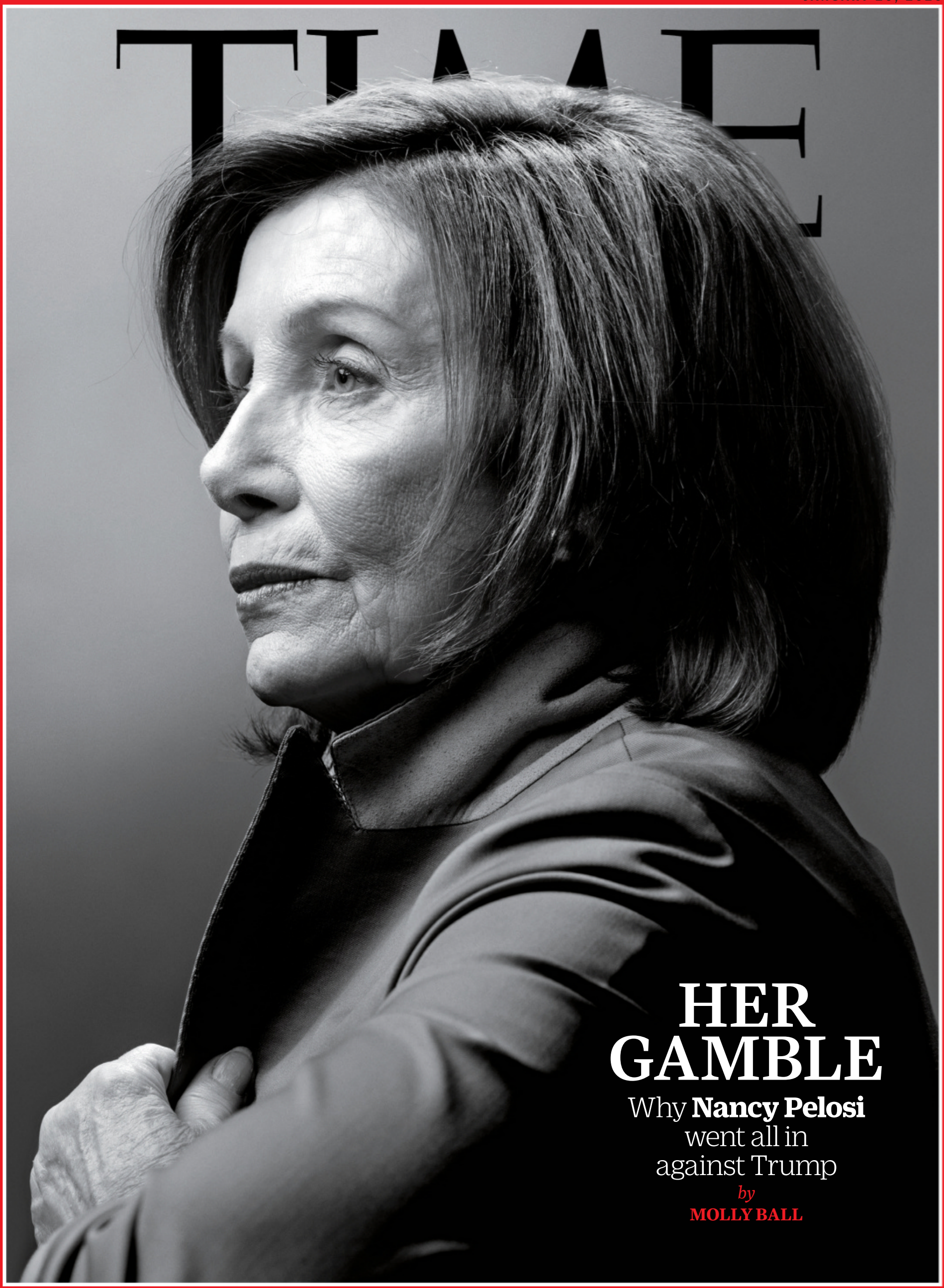

HER GAMBLE

Why **Nancy Pelosi** went all in against Trump

by

MOLLY BALL

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TIME
VOL. 195, NO. 1 | 2020

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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

PERSON OF THE YEAR Many readers hailed TIME's decision to highlight the work of individuals who stood up for ideals bigger than themselves in the 2019 Person of the Year issue (Dec. 23/30). Terry Mead of Glendale, Ariz., called teen climate activist Greta Thunberg, 2019's Person of the Year, **"a beacon of hope in a night of denial and self interest."** And Marguerite Hauberg of Volcano, Hawaii, wrote that the story about the public servants who reported concerns about President Donald Trump's handling of Ukraine, who were named 2019's Guardians of the Year, **"should be read by every American."**

But the choice of Person of the Year always prompts debate, and 2019 was no exception. Some critics argued that Thunberg hasn't accomplished enough to merit the selection, or that people like Hong Kong's pro-democracy protesters, Nancy Pelosi or Trump had a bigger influence on the year's news. **The most high-profile of these critics was Trump,** who tweeted on Dec. 12 that the choice was "so ridiculous" and that "Greta must work on her Anger Management problem, then go to a good old fashioned movie with a friend! Chill, Greta, Chill!" Thunberg took the jab in stride, jokingly changing her Twitter bio to describe herself as "a teenager working on her anger management problem" who was "Currently chilling and watching a good old fashioned movie with a friend." Other public figures condemned the President's jab: **"@GretaThunberg, don't let anyone dim your light,"** former First Lady Michelle Obama tweeted on Dec. 13. "Millions of people are cheering you on."

TIME reader Carol Phelps of Middleton, Wis., is among them. She said that Thunberg inspired her on her own journey to being a climate-change activist. And Paul Feiner, town supervisor for Greenburgh, N.Y., wrote that when he sees his youngest constituents becoming more engaged in community affairs, he gives Thunberg credit for the change. As Gordon Griffiths of Cincinnati put it, Thunberg proves the old saying that "one person can make a difference."

NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTIONS TIME's technology columnist Patrick Lucas Austin highlights six tech tips to help your New Year's resolutions stick. Learn about apps that can help you reach common personal goals—such as getting in more steps or being smarter about saving—and also refresh your digital life by backing up your computer, organizing your passwords and adding two-step authentication to keep your accounts secure. Read the rest at **time.com/resolutions-tech**

READING LIST TIME's monthly roundup of new fiction and nonfiction continues with a look at 12 books to read in January, from a collection of "lost" stories by Zora Neale Hurston to Jeanine Cummins' novel about a woman forced to flee Mexico with her son. More at **time.com/january-books**

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For the Record

‘TOO MANY TROLLS.’

LIZZO,
singer and TIME’s 2019 Entertainer of the Year, in a Jan. 5 message declaring she was taking a break from Twitter

$495,000

Asking price for each of two decommissioned nuclear-missile silos on the market in Arizona

‘It doesn’t matter about the physical attributions of the person you fall in love with.’

LAYLA MORAN,
British lawmaker, in an interview with PinkNews, after coming out as pansexual in a Jan. 2 tweet; she is thought to be the first out pansexual lawmaker in the U.K.

‘We’re starting a new year, and let’s see if we can’t both complete the year as pancreatic cancer survivors.’

ALEX TREBEK,
Jeopardy! host, asked if he had a message for Representative John Lewis, in an Associated Press interview published Jan. 6; the Georgia Democrat revealed his diagnosis in December and Trebek made his own cancer fight public in March 2019

‘Due to the spread of misinformation, our website is experiencing high traffic volumes at this time.’

THE U.S. SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,
after its website crashed Jan. 3 amid fears of war with Iran

$3.2 million

Approximate total spent on legal recreational marijuana in Illinois on Jan. 1, the first day of sales in the state

‘This will be the end of us.’

BEATRICE TOSTI DI VALMINUTA,
co-owner of a bar and restaurant in New York City, in a Jan. 6 New York *Times* story about the Trump Administration’s suggestion that it may impose 100% tariffs on European wine

6.4 million

Low-end estimate of Americans who’ve caught the flu in what’s on track to be one of the worst seasons for the virus in years, per CDC data released Jan. 3

Fake beef
Burger King unveils a plant-based patty in the U.K., but says it’s cooked on the same grills as beef

Fake pork
Impossible Foods introduces a new pork substitute at CES in Las Vegas

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SOURCES: AP, NEW YORK TIMES, BUSINESS INSIDER, PINKNEWS, MIRROR, CNET

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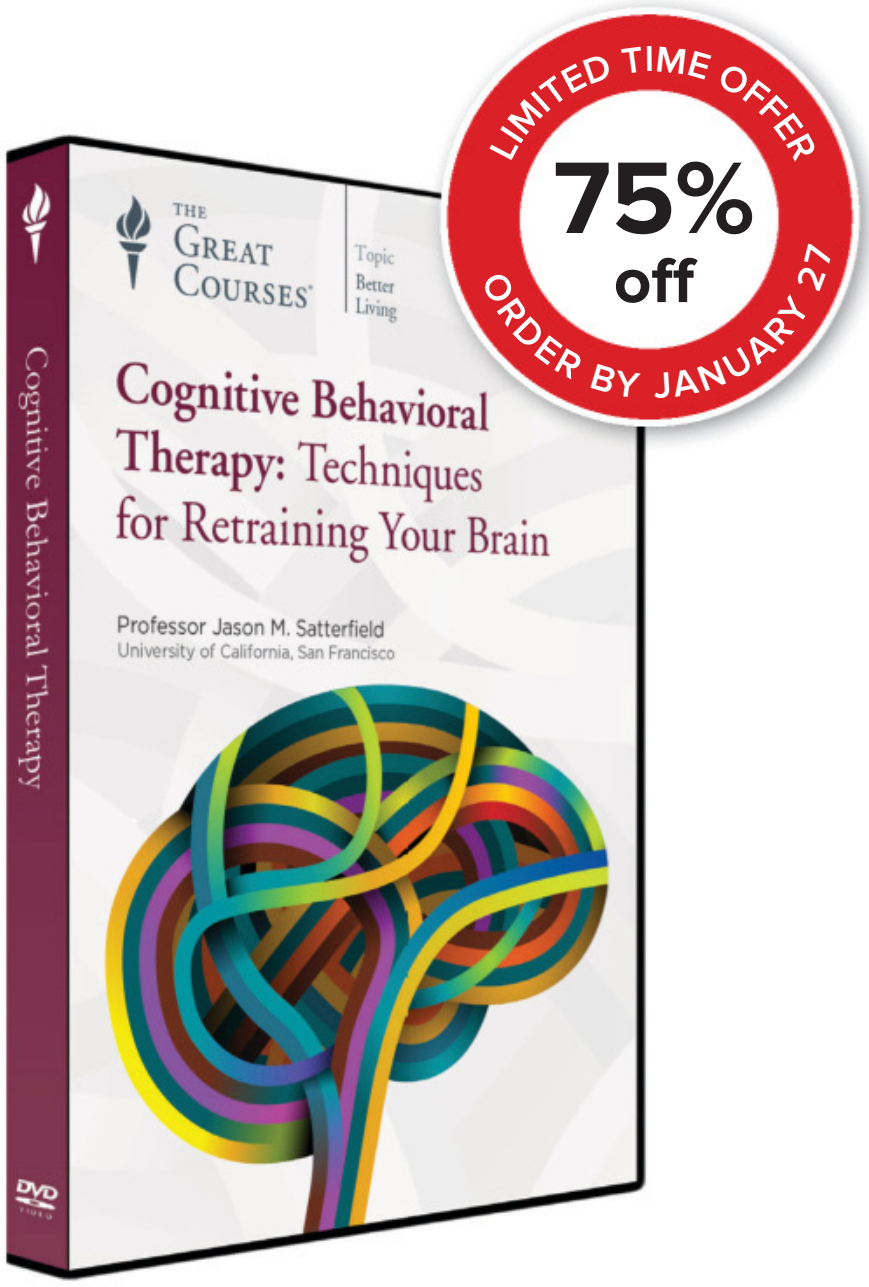

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TheBrief

IN THE WOODS Burnt trees in Mogo State Forest in New South Wales, Australia, on Jan. 5

INSIDE

TENSIONS RUN HIGH IN INDIA AFTER ATTACK AT UNIVERSITY

THE AMERICAN MILK INDUSTRY GETS MORE BAD NEWS

THE WEINSTEIN TRIAL MARKS A #METOO MILESTONE

PHOTOGRAPH BY ADAM FERGUSON FOR TIME

CLIMATE CHANGE

What the world sees as Australia burns

By Justin Worland

FAMILIES HUDDLE ON A ONCE PICTURESQUE beach as their homes burn behind them. Baby koalas, their fur singed, cling to their mothers as they face a fiery demise. And military helicopters whomp overhead, searching the charred landscape for stragglers looking for a last-minute escape.

These bracing scenes illustrate a terrifying reality on the ground in Australia, where more than two dozen people and millions of animals have died in wildfires that have destroyed more than 25 million acres since December and that are not expected to be contained anytime soon. The blazes, so large that they've created their own weather systems, have sparked widespread panic, prompted a military deployment and caused billions of dollars in damage. "We're in the middle of a war situation," says David Bowman, director of the Fire Centre Research Hub at the University of Tasmania.

The infernos have also captured the world's attention. While climate-linked disasters aren't new—from the uptick in deadly heat waves to increasingly powerful hurricanes, floods and blizzards—images of such destruction often fail to resonate and are quickly forgotten in the next day's news cycle. But what's happening in Australia feels different. Haunting pictures of cute koalas, kangaroos and wallabies that have died en masse tear at our heartstrings. And as cynical as it may sound, the fact that the devastation is occurring in a wealthy, English-speaking country reminds even the most privileged observer that money alone cannot buy immunity from the wrath of nature. "You have the perfect storm of a story," says Anthony Leiserowitz, who directs the Yale Program on Climate Change Communication. "[It] is happening on literally the other side of the planet, yet it seems to be resonating in this country."

Most significantly, the Australian fires are burning at a time when the world is becoming increasingly attuned to the catastrophic dangers of unchecked climate change. Activists, a series of dire scientific reports and other recent extreme, climate-linked events—including wildfires more than 7,000 miles away in California—have perhaps succeeded in sharpening the mind. Whether global leaders are able to translate this newfound awareness into meaningful political action is the next test.

25.5

Area, in millions of acres, burned in Australia as of Jan. 7, an expanse the size of South Korea

1,800

Number of Australian homes destroyed, according to insurance-industry figures

61%

Percentage of Australians who think the country should do more to combat climate change, even if such action is costly

THERE'S NO QUESTION about the link between the Australian wildfires and climate change. The country's famed bush—the continent's vast, often dry expanse that is sparsely inhabited but filled with vegetation—has always been prone to wildfires. But a warming climate has heightened the risk: decades of worsening droughts have killed off plants, grasses and trees, creating tinder for fires, and warmer average temperatures have created furnace-like conditions in which fire can easily spread. Last year was Australia's hottest and driest on record, with temperatures in some parts of the country topping 120°F in December, according to government data. A 2019 report from the Australian government concluded that climate change had already "resulted in more dangerous weather conditions for bushfires in recent decades."

But Australia's current leadership remains largely in denial about the problem. Along with the U.S., Russia and Brazil, Australia—where coal mining is a significant industry and a powerful lobby—is one of just a handful of countries with national politicians who have steadfastly refused to consider bold action to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. But while U.S. President Donald Trump outright denies the science of climate change, Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison has taken a different tack in recent months. He isn't contesting that climate change is real or that it has worsened the bushfires. Instead, he argues that his country can't do anything about it because Australia's greenhouse-gas emissions make up only a small share of the global total. "To suggest that with just 1.3% of global emissions, that Australia doing something differently, more or less, would have changed the fire outcome this season," he told an Australian radio station, "I don't think that stands up to any credible scientific evidence at all."

It's not clear if, or for how long, Morrison's position will remain politically tenable among his fellow citizens. Last year, 61% of Australians said their government should take urgent action "even if this involves significant costs," according to a survey from the nonpartisan Lowy Institute. That number is up 25 percentage points since 2012. "There's been a backlash against Scott Morrison," says Lowy's Daniel Flitton. "Issues to do with the environment have been key to the downfall of successive Prime Ministers in Australia."

Morrison's dismissive rhetoric on climate change makes him an outlier among democratic leaders, who are for the most part rushing to proclaim all they're doing to save the planet. But his position points to a dilemma: he is correct, of course, that Australia cannot single-handedly prevent climate change in the country's backyard. Instead, nations—including those that aren't emitting that much on their own—must act collectively to embrace policies that reduce emissions. Whether global leaders act boldly will determine if the heartbreaking images from Australia that have now gripped the world are a tragic aberration or a look at what's to come. —*With reporting by* AMY GUNIA/HONG KONG

SOURCES: INSURANCE COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA, LOWY INSTITUTE, REUTERS

AFTER THE STORM Overturned cars and debris fill the streets in the aftermath of flash flooding in Bekasi, West Java, Indonesia, on Jan. 2. Authorities said more than 60 people had died in Jakarta after the capital city was hit on New Year's Eve by some of the most powerful monsoon rains in more than a decade. Forced to leave their homes because of rising waters and landslides, tens of thousands of people evacuated to temporary shelters. More rain is forecast for the coming weeks.

ADITYA IRAWAN—XINHUA/SIPA USA

THE BULLETIN

Attack at top Delhi university signals rising tensions in India

WITH A BANDAGED HAND AND BRUISES ON his back, student Santosh Singh says he no longer feels safe at Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), one of India's top schools. On Jan. 5, he and some 30 others were injured when masked men stormed the campus, armed with rods, bats and stones to attack students who were protesting a fee increase. "I thought they were going to kill us," Singh tells TIME.

MOB RULES To Singh, it seems clear who the masked men were. "They were ABVP goons," he says, referring to members of a right-wing Hindu nationalist student organization affiliated with the BJP, the party of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. "Their slogans, their style of talking, and the word they love the most—*traitors*—was on their lips when they were beating us." The ABVP denies involvement, but reports suggest the attack was coordinated on ABVP WhatsApp groups, and experts say it fits a pattern of intimidation by Modi's government and its allies against universities.

DESPERATE TIMES Those universities, longtime bastions of progressive thought, now feel increasingly out of step with the country's prevailing political climate. Since his re-election last May, Modi has rewarded his base by delivering on several long-held Hindu nationalist goals, including a controversial new law that would offer a pathway to citizenship for asylum seekers from three neighboring countries, provided they are not Muslims—India's largest minority and a regular BJP target.

DESPERATE MEASURES That law sparked a nationwide wave of protests from opponents of the BJP, including many university students and faculty, who said it was a flagrant violation of India's secular constitution. Even though the students at JNU weren't protesting that law on Jan. 5, many saw the attack as an attempt by Modi's supporters to intimidate intellectuals and demonstrators at a time when the government is struggling to keep them off the streets.

—BILLY PERRIGO *and* SAMEER YASIR

NEWS TICKER

Earthquake rattles Puerto Rico

A 6.4-magnitude earthquake rocked Puerto Rico after it hit offshore in the pre-dawn hours of Jan. 7. It was the **largest in a series of quakes that struck the island** in the first week of the year. At least one person died and eight were injured in the city of Ponce, and more than two-thirds of the island lost electricity.

Methodist Church proposes split

The United Methodist Church may split over differences in belief on LGBTQ clergy and marriage equality, according to a proposal announced on Jan. 3. Currently, **"practicing" members of the LGBTQ community cannot become pastors,** and pastors are barred from performing same-sex marriages. A vote on the proposal is scheduled for May.

China fights mysterious illness

Health officials in China **struggled to identify a mysterious pneumonia-like virus contracted by 59 people** in the city of Wuhan. Authorities said on Jan. 5 they had ruled out SARS, which killed more than 800 people during an epidemic that started in China in 2002.

NEWS TICKER

Plane crash in Iran kills 176

A Ukrainian passenger jet leaving Tehran crashed on Jan. 8, **killing all 176 people aboard,** according to Ukraine's Foreign Ministry. Confusion over the crash was heightened because it came hours after Iran launched more than a dozen missiles targeting U.S. forces in Iraq.

DHS to share data with Census

The Department of Homeland Security will share records with the Census Bureau in an effort to **estimate the citizenship status of every person living in the U.S.,** according to a document posted in December. Last summer, the Supreme Court blocked the Trump Administration from adding a question about citizenship status to the Census.

Venezuela vote blocked by regime

Critics of Venezuela's authoritarian leader Nicolás Maduro accused him of a "parliamentary coup" on Jan. 5 after **security forces blocked lawmakers from re-electing opposition leader Juan Guaidó** as head of the National Assembly. Most of the legislators later backed Guaidó in an alternate vote.

GOOD QUESTION

Why is America's milk industry in so much trouble?

FOR MUCH OF THE 20TH CENTURY, MILK was a simple part of daily life in the U.S., as farmers raised cows, milkmen delivered bottles and children chugged it at school. But those days are fading—a fact accentuated by the announcement on Jan. 5 by Borden Dairy, the milk processor with a cheery Elsie the cow on its label, that it is filing for bankruptcy protection. Borden, which said it was impacted by "market challenges facing the dairy industry," follows Dean Foods, America's largest milk producer, which filed for bankruptcy protection in November.

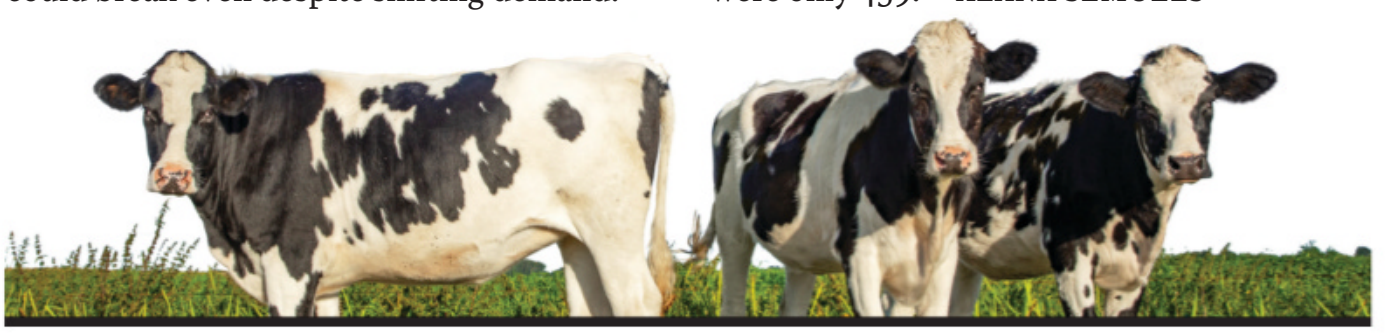
America has fallen out of love with drinking milk, as lower-calorie options have proliferated and people are substituting water bottles for milk cartons. Americans each drank an estimated 146 lb. of fluid milk—a category that includes products from skim to cream—in 2018, according to the USDA's Economic Research Service. That may sound like a lot, but it's down 26% just since 2000.

The downturn has been tough on dairy processors like Borden and Dean, which buy fresh milk from farms and use techniques like pasteurization to create a consumer-safe beverage with a longer shelf life. For the past five years, thanks to technology that increased milk production, fresh-milk prices were relatively low, which meant processors could break even despite shifting demand. But prices began ticking up again last year, squeezing the processors' already tight margins. "Declining sales in a thin-margin business is not a good recipe for success," says Mark Stephenson, director of dairy policy analysis at the University of Wisconsin. (Americans are still eating cheese, butter and ice cream, but fluid-milk processors such as Dean and Borden aren't big players in those businesses.)

Milk processors are also facing competition from big retailers, which have set up their own processing plants. In 2018, Walmart opened a milk-processing plant in Indiana to serve hundreds of stores in the Midwest, taking away approximately 95 million gal. of milk-processing business from Dean Foods.

On the other end of the supply chain, dairy farms are facing trouble of their own. The low prices that were a boon to processors left small farmers struggling across the industry. The number of Chapter 12 farm bankruptcies in 2019 was up 24% from the previous year. "We're trying our darndest to hang on," says Mary Rieckmann, a dairy farmer in Wisconsin whose family has turned to GoFundMe to keep their century-old farm running.

Borden, which was founded in 1857, has 3,300 employees and 13 plants across the South and Midwest. The company says it plans to continue to operate as it restructures under court supervision. But if that plan fails, it wouldn't be the first dairy processor to cease operations. There were 605 fluid-milk plants in America in 1990. By 2018, there were only 459. —ALANA SEMUELS



GETTY IMAGES

CRIME

Disappearing acts

In the days since former Nissan boss Carlos Ghosn fled Japan on Dec. 29 while awaiting trial, reports have emerged that his escape involved a bullet train, a private plane and hiding in a box. Here, other big breakouts. —*Madeline Roache*

UNDERGROUND
Mexican drug lord Joaquín "El Chapo" Guzmán broke out of the Altiplano top-security prison in Mexico in July 2015 via a mile-long tunnel with a motorbike, and an all-terrain vehicle waiting for him at the other end.

ON THE LAM
In 1979, three Black Liberation Army activists broke fellow member Assata Shakur out of a New Jersey prison—where she had been sent after a murder conviction—by taking two guards hostage to gain use of a prison van.

BUSTING OUT
Frank Morris and brothers Clarence and John Anglin vanished from Alcatraz in 1962 after boring through prison walls with spoons and floating away on a makeshift raft made of 50 raincoats.

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DIED
Conceptual artist **John Baldessari,** on Jan. 2, at 88.

WON
A vote in parliament on Jan. 7, by **Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez,** which will allow him to form a leftist coalition government.

ANNOUNCED
On Jan. 8, that Prince Harry and Meghan Markle, **the Duke and Duchess of Sussex,** intend to step back from duties as "senior" royals and split their time between the U.K. and North America.

DECIDED
By **Secretary of State Mike Pompeo,** not to run for a U.S. Senate seat in Kansas in 2020. Pompeo reportedly told Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell of his decision on Jan. 6.

SENTENCED
A **British teenager in Cyprus,** to a four-month suspended jail term, on Jan. 7, after she was convicted of falsely accusing 12 Israeli men of rape. Her lawyers say she was forced to retract her accusation under police pressure.

REPORTED
That the **U.S. cancer mortality rate** dropped by 2.2% from 2016 to 2017, by the American Cancer Society, on Jan. 8, representing the largest single-year decrease ever.

BANNED
"Deepfake" videos, made using artificial intelligence and difficult to distinguish from authentic recordings, from Facebook, on Jan. 6.

Weinstein leaves court on Jan. 6 after the first day of his New York City trial for rape and sexual assault. He faces life in prison if convicted

STARTED

The trial of Harvey Weinstein

A watershed moment for #MeToo

HARVEY WEINSTEIN ARRIVED HUNCHED OVER A WALKER FOR the Jan. 6 start of his New York City sexual assault trial. On the same day, prosecutors in Los Angeles filed separate rape and sexual-assault charges against the once mighty movie mogul.

The trial in New York is expected to take roughly two months, but, merely by beginning, it marked a major moment for the #MeToo movement—two years after a New York *Times* exposé detailed three decades of sexual-misconduct allegations against Weinstein and prompted dozens of other women in Hollywood to come forward with further accusations.

In the New York trial, Weinstein, 67, is accused of raping an unidentified woman in a hotel room in 2013 and sexually assaulting a former production assistant in his apartment in 2006. He has pleaded not guilty to the charges and has denied all allegations of nonconsensual sex; he could face life in prison if convicted. Regardless of the verdict, advocates for sexual-assault survivors say it's a triumph to see Weinstein face a jury, even as they stress that the movement is bigger than his case. The wave of allegations against him helped to make #MeToo go viral in 2017 and resulted in a cultural reckoning. At least 15 states have since passed new protections to better address sexual harassment and assault, according to the National Women's Law Center.

"Although he may have been the spark that lit the flame here," says Tina Tchen, president and CEO of the advocacy group Time's Up, "this is a flame that has extended far beyond."

—MELISSA CHAN

DIED

Elizabeth Wurtzel

A voice of Gen X

WHEN ELIZABETH WURTZEL published her 1994 memoir, *Prozac Nation: Young and Depressed in America,* she was 27 years old. The book, an unflinching look at depression that detailed her relationship with the disease, solidified Wurtzel as a voice of Generation X. As she started conversations on serious topics by opening up about her own experiences, she also helped reshape and revive the modern American memoir.

The signature candor that began with her discussions of clinical depression continued after she announced in 2015 that she'd been diagnosed with breast cancer. After her diagnosis, she began advocating for testing for the BRCA gene mutation, writing in the New York *Times* that she believed earlier testing could have prevented her from having cancer, which ultimately led to her death on Jan. 7 at 52.

In her books and her journalism, Wurtzel crafted intimate depictions of suffering and how to survive it. "I don't think about the past or the future—I don't even worry about the present," she wrote for TIME in 2018. "I just do the next right thing."

—ANNABEL GUTTERMAN

WEINSTEIN: KENA BETANCUR—GETTY IMAGES; WURTZEL: NEVILLE ELDER—CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

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VAULT CODE:
TIM30

20 MOMENTS FOR 2020

JAN. 31 1

Bye-bye, Britain

Three and a half years after the U.K. voted to leave the E.U.—and less than two months after Boris Johnson's Conservative Party won a huge election victory—Brexit is set to become a reality.

'Getting Brexit done is now the irrefutable, irresistible, unarguable decision of the British people.'

BORIS JOHNSON,
U.K. Prime Minister

UNKNOWN 2

Room at the top

In September, Airbnb said it would go public in 2020. While the room-sharing platform hasn't yet provided much info for potential investors, the stock is sure to be watched closely in the wake of high-profile 2019 post-IPO slumps from companies like Uber.

FEB. 25 3

Assange's next step

A British court will hold a hearing on extraditing WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange to the U.S., where the government wants to try him for allegedly leaking state secrets in 2010.

MARCH 5 4

Journey to the past

After an eight-year wait, the highly anticipated final book in Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* trilogy will arrive in bookstores. The second installment culminated in the beheading of Anne Boleyn; now *The Mirror and the Light* will trace the final years in the life of Thomas Cromwell, a Tudor adviser, leading up to his execution in 1540 on the orders of King Henry VIII.

The previous Wolf Hall books inspired a Golden Globe–winning miniseries and a Tony-nominated play

APRIL 1 5

Census of duty

By the time April starts, every American household should have received a letter or a visit from a Census worker, as part of the federal government's once-a-decade population count.

APRIL 26 6

Chile's choice

In late 2019, Chileans spilled onto the streets to protest income inequality and the rising cost of living. To mollify the protesters, the government promised to hold a referendum to decide whether, and how, to rewrite the country's dictatorship-era constitution.

MAY 4 7

In fine style

The Met Gala turns its attention to sartorial history with 2020's theme, "About Time: Fashion and Duration," a choice inspired by the 1992 film *Orlando.* The most stylish names in fashion, arts and entertainment will walk the red carpet on the customary first Monday in May.

MAY 8 8

History made

Three-quarters of a century will have passed since V-E day, the formal end of World War II in Europe, when a surrender document signed by Nazi leadership officially took effect. The May 8, 1945, event will be celebrated the following day in Russia, thanks to a 1945 document mix-up.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MAI LY DEGNAN FOR TIME

MAY 19 9

Ever in your favor

More than a decade after the release of Suzanne Collins' first book in the epically popular *Hunger Games* trilogy, the author is returning to the dystopian world of Panem in a new prequel novel, titled *The Ballad of Songbirds and Snakes.* It's set 64 years before the original trilogy took place.

JUNE 10

Days in court

By June, the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to have issued rulings on a series of pivotal cases argued this term, touching on LGBTQ employment discrimination, abortion restrictions and Dreamers, as well as the court's first Second Amendment case in nearly a decade.

'... bringing into focus the fast, fleeting rhythm of fashion.'

THE COSTUME INSTITUTE AT NEW YORK CITY'S METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, announcing the spring exhibition that sets the theme for its gala, which will be co-chaired by **Anna Wintour**

JULY 13, AUG. 24 11

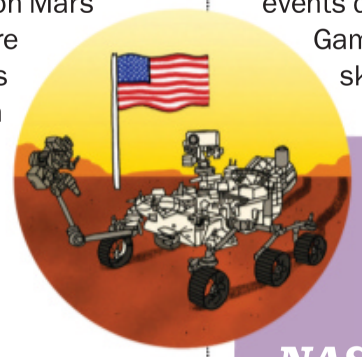
Conventionally

The Democratic and Republican parties will open their nominating conventions in, respectively, Milwaukee and Charlotte, N.C.—thus beginning the final phase of the 2020 election season. Charlotte last hosted a major-party national convention (the Democrats') in 2012, but this will be Milwaukee's first.

JULY 17 12

Mars in sight

The window will open for NASA's planned launch of a new rover destined to land on Mars in 2021, to explore a crater scientists hope may contain fossils of ancient life-forms. China is planning a Mars mission for the same launch window.



JULY 24 13

Game on

The Olympics will kick off in Tokyo with some new additions: events debuting at the 2020 Games include karate and skateboarding.

NASA's Mars 2020 rover is bound for the Jezero Crater, a 820-ft.-deep dried-up lake on the surface of the Red Planet

AUG. 6 14

Atomic anniversary

The atomic age began 75 years ago, when the U.S. dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and followed it three days later with a second nuclear bombing, of Nagasaki. An estimated 200,000 people were killed by the two blasts, which came shortly before Japan's formal surrender in World War II.

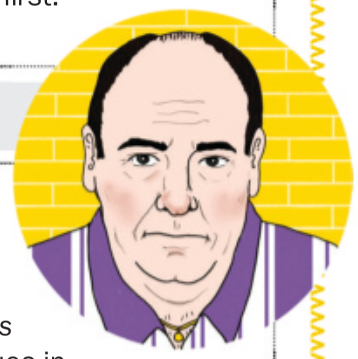
SEPTEMBER 15

Museum piece

A $700 million museum housed in the rebuilt Berlin Palace, the Humboldt Forum is one of Europe's most ambitious cultural projects; it's scheduled to open a year later than first planned.

SEPT. 25

Boss around



The *Sopranos* story continues in 2020 as a movie prequel to the HBO series comes to theaters. *The Many Saints of Newark,* set in 1960s New Jersey, will focus on Mob boss Tony Soprano's early years, with Michael Gandolfini following his late father James in the lead role.

OCT. 20 17

Expo facto

When the next World Expo opens in Dubai, at least 190 countries will be there to display their innovations at the twice-per-decade showcase of global scientific progress.

NOV. 9 18

Climate crunch

The U.N.'s 26th annual summit on climate change, set to be held in Glasgow, will be a crucial one. According to the terms of the 2015 Paris Agreement, countries are due to set new targets for reducing greenhouse-gas emissions in order to help slow global temperature rise. Up to 200 world leaders and 30,000 delegates are expected to take part in the negotiations.

NOV. 21 19

Kiwi questions

New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern will be up for re-election on or before this day, in a vote coinciding with referendums on assisted dying and cannabis. If the former is passed, some terminally ill people, if they get the approval of two doctors, could choose euthanasia.

DEC. 18 20

Tonight, tonight

When Steven Spielberg's adaptation of *West Side Story,* the musical take on *Romeo and Juliet,* opens in cinemas, newcomer Rachel Zegler and *Baby Driver*'s Ansel Elgort will play the star-crossed lovers.

By Rachael Bunyan, Alejandro de la Garza, Suyin Haynes, Ciara Nugent and Billy Perrigo

حامل الرسالة لم يعد
مرگ بر آمریکا
DOWN WITH USA

ON THE BRINK

How 40 years of enmity between Iran and the U.S. collided in an assassination

By Karim Sadjadpour

Iranians in Tehran on Jan. 6 publicly mourn the death of Major General Qasem Soleimani

PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEWSHA TAVAKOLIAN FOR TIME

MAJOR GENERAL QASEM SOLEIMANI WAS BORN IN 1957 to a self-described "peasant" family in Kerman, the sunbaked province in southeastern Iran famed for its pistachios, rose water and hospitable inhabitants. Family debts forced him to leave school and earn a living as a construction worker at age 13. By his late teens, Soleimani was swept up in the country's growing political fervor that culminated in one of the greatest geopolitical earthquakes of the past half-century: the 1979 revolution that replaced a U.S.-allied monarchy, led by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, with a viscerally anti-American theocracy, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Like young men from poor families throughout the world, Soleimani achieved upward mobility by joining the military. The Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) was set up to supersede a national army Khomeini did not trust, and Soleimani cut his teeth as a soldier by helping to ruthlessly crush a rebellion of Kurds in northwest Iran, an estimated 10,000 of whom were killed. In 1981, he was among hundreds of thousands dispatched to counter the invasion of Iran by Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Soleimani served mostly on the front line, distinguishing himself as a leader, then went on to confront drug traffickers in Kerman, the Taliban in neighboring Afghanistan and, reportedly, antigovernment protests inside Iran.

But Soleimani came into his own after the attacks of 9/11 and the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, which flank Iran. Soleimani was tasked with sabotaging the American effort in Iraq. He did this initially by unleashing al-Qaeda members detained in Iran after fleeing Afghanistan—including several members of the bin Laden family and Jordanian radical Abu Musab al-Zarqawi—and allowing them to inflame Iraq. Then he trained Iraqi Shi'ite militias, and provided them extraordinarily lethal roadside booby traps that could penetrate any U.S. armor. The efforts took the lives of as many as 1,000 U.S. soldiers in Iraq, making Soleimani the single most hated adversary in the world for two generations of American military commanders.

So how did the man live to 62? A former senior U.S. intelligence official on Iran told me that when previous Administrations discussed assassinating Soleimani, two questions were usually contemplated: Does he deserve to die? And, is it worth the potential risks? The answer to the first question tended to be affirmative. The answer to the second was always inconclusive.

It still is. The five days after Soleimani's assassination on Jan. 3, by a drone's missile fired on the order of President Trump, were among the most fraught in the four decades of enmity between the U.S. and Iran—and a bowel-shaking lesson in the speed with which full-blown war can appear all but inevitable, even when neither side actually wants one.

"The fact that we have this great military and equipment … does not mean we have to use it. We do not want to use it!" Trump said, in a televised address that had the feel of stepping onto firm ground from a roller coaster.

American blood had emerged as Trump's red line in dealing with Iran

Soleimani's coffin is surrounded by throngs in Tehran's Enghelab Square on Jan. 6

MAGNUM PHOTOS

Soleimani was killed early on a Friday. By Tuesday evening Washington time, Tehran was doing what it had never done before—firing a barrage of rockets from its own soil toward U.S. troops stationed in Iraq. The time it took to count heads at the bases in Erbil and in the dusty reaches of Anbar province was excruciating for more than the families of service members stationed there.

American blood had emerged as Trump's red line in dealing with Iran. A U.S. death presumably would require a lethal military reply from a President who had entered the spiral of escalation quite late, at the point where the circles narrow and everything moves very fast. For seven months, the normally bellicose U.S. President had declined to answer mounting attacks by Iran with reciprocal U.S. military action. "We had nobody in the drone," Trump said, after

VIEWPOINT

TRUMP'S BOLD, JUSTIFIABLE GAMBLE

By David French

When President Donald Trump ordered the death of Iranian General Qasem Soleimani, he played perhaps his strongest card in a weak strategic hand. He placed a bold bet that his strike would brush back the Iranian regime, place it on its heels and deter future attacks. It's a bet that he might lose (with terrible consequences), but it's far too soon to judge the outcome.

I felt a sense of real relief when I heard of Soleimani's demise. I served in Iraq, during the surge, and my forward operating base was located less than two dozen miles from the Iranian border, in a mixed Sunni-Shi'ite part of Diyala province. While the precursor to ISIS (then called the Islamic State in Iraq) was our principal foe, we were constantly worried about the presence of Shi'ite militias armed with a deadly Iranian-supplied weapon, the explosively formed penetrator (EFP).

For much of our deployment, the Shi'ite militias were quiet—except during a terrible series of weeks in the spring of 2008. They rose up, deployed their EFPs and destroyed one of our humvees, killing two men I knew.

Soleimani's influence and power had only grown in the years since my deployment. He was an active enemy-combatant commander working closely with other U.S. enemies, and when the Shi'ite militias under his influence (and probable outright control) again in December attacked Americans in Iraq and besieged the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, it was clear that he was still a threat.

So there was ample military cause for striking Soleimani. There was also sufficient legal justification. It is a basic aspect of the law of armed conflict that opposing commanders are a legitimate target. Soleimani had entered a theater of armed conflict as a co-belligerent with Shi'ite militias.

But to say that the strike was militarily and legally justifiable does not necessarily make it wise. Both the Trump Administration and the Iranian regime are approaching the crisis from a position of relative strategic weakness. While the U.S. military is unquestionably the dominant military force in the world, it has currently deployed a fraction of the combat power to the Middle East that was present during the height of the Iraq War, and the American people have little appetite for a new war with an adversary far more deadly and capable than Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

The Iranians face their own substantial challenges. The regime is in economic distress as a result of crippling U.S. sanctions, it has faced serious internal protests, and there are signs that Iraqis have grown weary of Iranian influence.

Iran's limited missile strike on Jan. 7 relieved Trump of the perceived imperative of immediate escalation. In the absence of U.S. casualties, now is the time for the Administration to pause, guard against further retaliation and signal clearly that it does not want war.

At a time of great risk, the U.S. needs a steady hand at the helm. It needs a President who possesses strategic vision and exhibits tactical agility. Americans have no reason to believe that Trump is such a man. As he fills Twitter with bluster and reinforces U.S. troops, yet another U.S. President has learned that a promise to end U.S. entanglement in the Middle East is far more easily made than kept.

French is a TIME columnist

Iran shot down a massive aircraft in June. "It would have made a big difference." Holes blasted in oil tankers and an extraordinarily bold air assault on Saudi Arabia's main oil facilities were received as Iran's response to the economic sanctions Trump had imposed after unilaterally withdrawing from the international agreement that had arrested Iran's nuclear program. If we cannot sell oil, Tehran was saying, no one else should be able to either. The Commander in Chief answered every attack with an eagerness to sit down and talk, just as he had with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un.

Then, on Dec. 27, one of the militias handled by Soleimani killed an American contractor in a rocket barrage on a U.S. base in Iraq. Trump finally retaliated in kind, ordering U.S. warplanes to strike the militia two days later, killing 25. Iran responded by sending unarmed militiamen to swarm the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, where they burned a reception center. While Tehran has a long history of looting embassies, what infuriated Trump was comparisons with the overrunning, by Libyan militants in 2012, of the consular office in Benghazi, where the death of the U.S. ambassador became an obsession for some in the GOP, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. "The Anti-Benghazi!" Trump tweeted. When military advisers brought a menu of options to answer for the embassy vandalism, Trump stunned them by picking the killing of Soleimani. He later said the general was planning an "imminent" strike on U.S. interests, but has not elaborated.

But if the drone strike sped the U.S. and Iran down the road to war, both sides were looking frantically for an off-ramp. Iran seemingly showed the way, opening the path to de-escalation by the nature of its barrage.

Consider: before launching the strike, Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif announced the retaliation would come from Iran's own military, not proxy forces. What form did it take? Iran has weapons precise enough to elude a U.S. Patriot antimissile battery and take half of Saudi's oil production offline, which it did on Sept. 14. Instead, Tehran sprayed ballistic rockets toward a vast air base and a token number toward the base in Erbil. Both facilities were braced for the attack. Several rockets failed to explode.

"All is well!" Trump tweeted a few hours later, radiating relief that no one was killed. The next morning, flanked by generals at the televised address, he announced "additional punishing economic sanctions on the Iranian regime."

Dangers remain. Still to be avenged is the militia leader killed along with Soleimani, a project more than one Iraq militia vowed to undertake. And Iran may not be finished. It has a long history of indirect covert action, from cyberattacks to terrorism. A former senior U.S. intelligence official said Iran may go further this time, potentially targeting current or former senior U.S. officials of similar rank to Soleimani. But the conflict Tehran favors least is the kind it appears to have avoided: conventional war. So it was no surprise that a couple of hours after launching the rockets, Tehran announced through its Foreign Minister that its retaliation had "concluded," and headed for the casino door with its winnings.

INSIDE THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC, the impact of Soleimani's death will take years to appreciate. But its immediate effect was to throw the regime a lifeline. Only weeks earlier, an abrupt hike in gas prices brought into the streets not the elite and middle class who normally protest but tens of thousands of the working-class Iranians whom Khomeini called "the real owners of the revolution." The regime answered by shutting down the Internet and killing as many as 1,500 people.

Iranian leaders are upping the stakes, calling for the expulsion of U.S. forces from the entire Middle East

A makeshift shrine to Soleimani is set up in Tehran's Grand Bazaar on Jan. 8

Soleimani's assassination changed the subject. With his cocked eyebrow and soft personal manner, he had been among the most celebrated officials in the country, hailed by "moderates" and hard-liners alike. In life, he made Iran—however brutally, especially in Syria—the most consequential player in the Middle East, evoking the days of empire that may reside in the breasts of even many Iranians who despise the theocracy. (PERSIAN GENERAL, read one of the posters rushed out.) And in death, he found the place akin to sainthood that prominent martyrdom holds in Shi'ite Islam, with its narrative that begins with the fatal 7th century defeat of the Prophet's family in battle.

"Enemies felt humbled by the magnificence of the Iranian nation's turnout for the funeral of Martyr

Soleimani," Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei tweeted Jan. 8, referring to crowds that included Tehran residents who had marched in 2009, in bloody antigovernment protests dubbed the Green Movement. The surge in unity does not change stubborn realities for Khamenei, 80. Iran's economy remains in shambles, and its interference in the region still inspires protests in Lebanon and Iraq, where Soleimani directed militias and snipers to attack and kill demonstrators. But hostile attention from Washington is pure oxygen to a regime founded in opposition to it.

Since the 444-day hostage crisis that ended Jimmy Carter's presidency, Iran has exulted in playing an outsize role in American domestic politics. Ronald Reagan's presidency was tainted by the Iran-*contra* affair, George W. Bush's presidency was demoralized by Iranian machinations in Iraq, and negotiations over Iran's nuclear program consumed the latter part of Barack Obama's presidency.

Trump ran on an election platform of reducing America's presence in the Middle East and avoiding "stupid wars." But his erratic approach—provoking an escalation cycle while simultaneously making clear his aversion to conflict—only increased Tehran's appetite for risk. And so thousands of U.S. troops have arrived in the region, every one as a buffer against an emboldened Iran. "On almost a daily basis, the military has had to react to the President's decisions rather than plan for them," says Chuck

VIEWPOINT

WHAT ELSE IRAN MIGHT DO

By James Stavridis

The sudden, shocking killing of Iranian General Qasem Soleimani is one of those moments when a big door swings violently on a seemingly small hinge. How can the death of one man, largely unknown to the U.S. public, cause such an extraordinary range of potentially dangerous outcomes?

Iran has an immediate set of choices to make. Its range of options within the Middle East is wide, and the most obvious one would be direct attacks against U.S. personnel in Afghanistan (where the Iranians have deep pockets of influence), Iraq (doubling down on taking out the U.S. embassy), Syria or Saudi Arabia. These could be done with improvised explosive devices, surface-to-surface missiles or direct combat missions by Iranian special forces.

The Iranians could also turn to the sea, striking U.S. warships of the 5th Fleet in the Persian Gulf, using diesel submarines, cruise missiles or so-called swarm attacks of small boats, or closing the Strait of Hormuz to merchant shipping, something they have consistently threatened.

They can also attack U.S. allies, unleashing their surrogate Hizballah against Israel, perhaps using the massive surface-to-surface rocket inventory based in southern Lebanon; renewing attacks against Saudi oil fields; or seizing another tanker from the U.K. or other U.S. partners.

Finally, they can also choose less conventional options, perhaps a targeted assassination of a senior U.S. military diplomat or military figure in the region or closer to the U.S. itself, claiming they are responding proportionally. And almost certainly they will attempt to use offensive cybercapability to degrade U.S. military command and control, sow chaos in our transportation infrastructure or attack the electric grid.

Most likely, they will choose some combination of these options, all designed to give President Trump a bad set of choices—either he will have to take further military action, pushing the U.S. toward another "endless war" that he campaigned on ending; or if he doesn't act, appearing weak in the face of Iranian action.

Admiral Stavridis (ret.) was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander for NATO

Hagel, a former U.S. Defense Secretary and Republican Senator from Nebraska.

DURING THE TENSE WAIT for Iran's retaliation, Trump threatened to counter it by bombing a list of 52 targets in Iran, including cultural sites: a clear violation of international law. Though his Secretaries of State and Defense disavowed this threat, when reporters asked Trump to clarify he first doubled down, then two days later backed off. It is the Trump paradox: everything the President of the United States says must be taken seriously; nothing that Donald Trump says can be taken seriously.

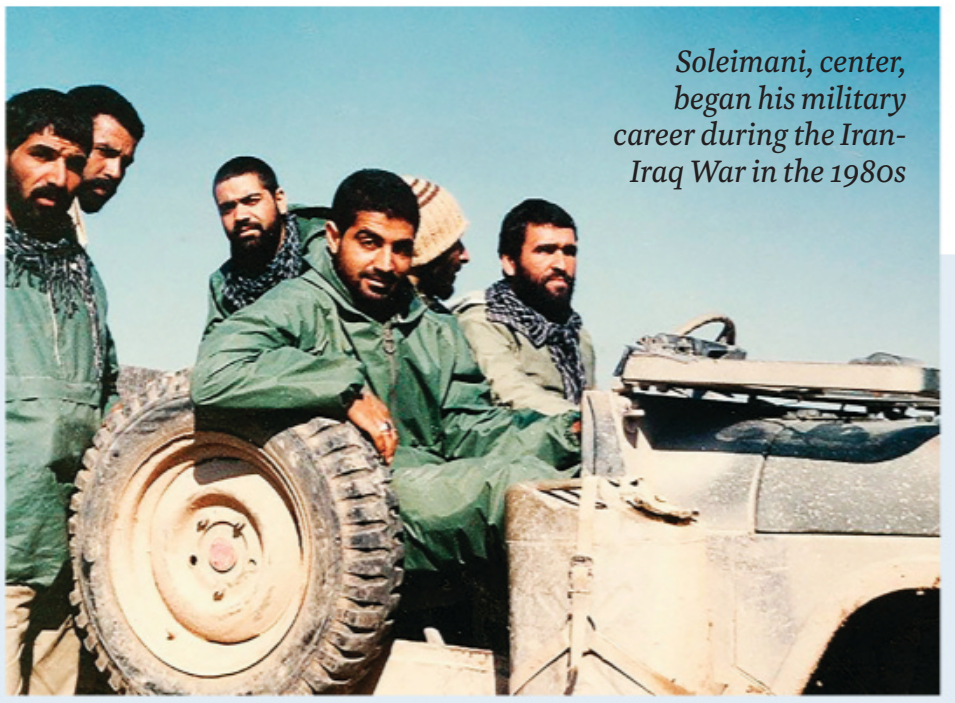
With that paradox comes confusion over why the U.S. has forces in the Middle East. The best reason is to fight ISIS, which lost its caliphate but remains an insurgency, especially in the Iraqi countryside. Soleimani had served to both fuel and fight Sunni extremists, who prey on Shi'ites. But the backlash from his assassination spurred U.S. commanders to confine their forces to base; operations against ISIS were suspended.

Worse, outrage by Iraqi politicians brought calls to expel U.S. forces from the country, where the U.S. has spent more than $1 trillion and thousands of lives. Expulsion makes no military sense: without U.S. airpower and special operators, ISIS would still hold much of Iraq. But after Iraq's parliament passed a nonbinding resolution ordering American forces out, the U.S. command in Iraq issued a letter suggesting it was packing its bags.

The letter was a mistake, but one that gladdened hearts in Tehran. Getting U.S. forces out of Iraq was, after all, the mission Khamenei gave Soleimani. His mandate expanded to the equivalent of a four-star general, CIA chief and Secretary of State. The Shi'ite foreign legion of 50,000 he cultivated projected Iranian power across the Middle East. And if his vocation made it unlikely Soleimani would die a natural death—Khamenei had called him a "living martyr"—his assassination may prove to be a force multiplier. Sensing that the notion of the U.S. leaving Iraq has now become credible, Iranian leaders are upping the stakes, calling for the expulsion of U.S. forces from the entire Middle East.

Fast forward to August 2020. Imagine news from Iran that a dozen U.S. sailors have been detained by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards navy. Instead of releasing them in a timely fashion, as it has in the past, Iran demands that all American troops first vacate the entire Middle East, an impossible request. Three months from Election Day, how does Trump react? —*With reporting by* W.J. HENNIGAN/WASHINGTON

Sadjadpour is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



Soleimani, center, began his military career during the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s

VIEWPOINT

IRAN'S HISTORY OF WAR HELPS US UNDERSTAND ITS NEXT MOVE

By Elliot Ackerman

In 1981, at the outset of the Iran-Iraq War, Qasem Soleimani witnessed his country's first use of human-wave-style tactics. That costly practice would become one of the hallmarks of a conflict that would claim nearly a million lives on both sides and would see a return to World War I–style trench warfare and the widespread use of chemical weapons. A key result of the conflict was Iran's adoption of a national-security strategy that relied on asymmetrical warfare (terrorism, wars by proxy). The Revolutionary Guards Quds Force, led by Soleimani for more than 20 years, played a crucial role in the implementation of this strategy, which ensured that Iranian society would never again experience such a bloodletting.

Now Soleimani is dead. Nearly a decade at war left me with many dead friends, and when tallying up how they died, I can trace more of their deaths to Iranian-supported Shi'ite militiamen than to card-carrying members of al-Qaeda.

His replacement, Esmail Ghaani, and the entire high command are not only the architects of America's low-intensity "forever war" with Iran but are also veterans of the Iran-Iraq War. Their experience will factor prominently into crafting a post-Soleimani strategy and whether that response will lead them into an escalatory spiral that could precipitate a more costly conventional war. Despite nationalist anger at the death of Soleimani, Iran's internal politics are as fractious as our own, and those divisions will soon re-emerge. Both of our nations have little appetite for a protracted conventional war, with anxious Google search terms such as *the draft* surging in the U.S. If there's a shared appetite for anything, it is de-escalation.

Navigating that process will be challenging. It will require pragmatism and moderation on the part of Iranian leaders. However, our decades-long limited war with Iran has yet to spiral out of control. That the formative experience of Iran's generals was a futile conventional war with few parallels in history cannot be emphasized enough. That experience may allow us all to avoid further escalation.

But despite the best of intentions and the clearest of strategies, luck always plays a role on the path to war. The days ahead might very well prove as precarious as that calamitous summer of 1914.

Ackerman's forthcoming novel is Red Dress in Black and White

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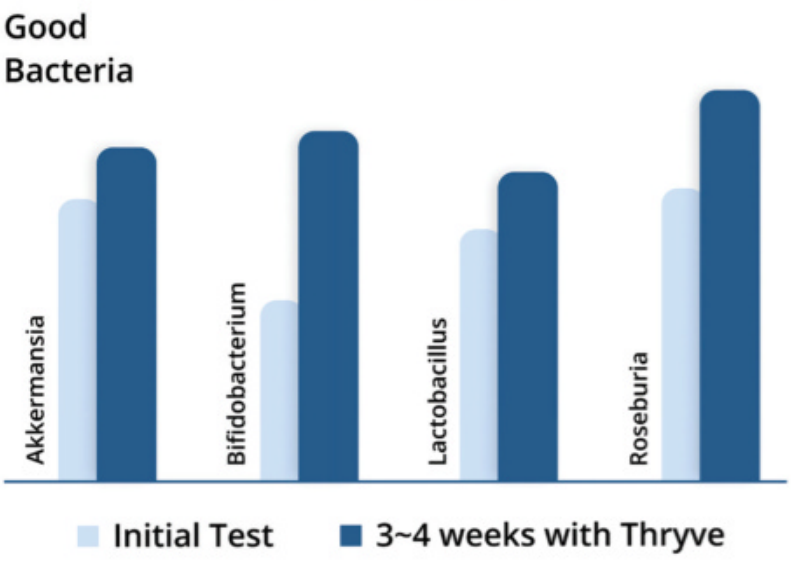

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Nation

PELOSI'S PLAY

From impeachment to Iran, the House Speaker is taking on President Trump

By Molly Ball

Nancy Pelosi in her office in the U.S. Capitol on Dec. 9

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP MONTGOMERY FOR TIME

NANCY PELOSI ISN'T WILD ABOUT THE question. The impeachment of President Donald Trump is under way, and I've asked the Speaker of the House if she thinks it's the most important thing she'll ever do. We're sitting in her elegant office in the Capitol, on gold-upholstered armchairs around a low table topped with a vase of hydrangeas. Over her shoulder, the sweeping view of the National Mall is shrouded in wintry clouds. For a long moment, the Speaker goes silent as she seems to compile in her mind the list of accomplishments she'd rather claim as her legacy.

"Apart from declaring war, this is the most important thing that the Congress can do," she finally says. "I'm most proud of the Affordable Care Act. But this is the most serious initiative that I've been involved in in my career."

Pelosi has spent decades at the highest levels of politics, but the past 12 months have been arguably her most consequential. Returning to the speakership after eight years running the House Democratic minority, she established herself as counterweight and constrainer of this divisive President. She outmaneuvered Trump on policy, from the border wall he didn't get to the budget agreement he signed loaded with goodies that Democrats wanted. She oversaw an unprecedented litigation effort against the Executive Branch, racking up landmark court victories. And she was the tactician behind the investigation that resulted in Trump's impeachment on Dec. 18.

What is most striking about this moment in Pelosi's career is that at the peak of power, she is not protecting her position but rather using it in aggressive, even risky ways. Impeaching Trump is a gamble for Pelosi. It has intensified Republicans' fealty to the President, rallying his base and supercharging his campaign fundraising, potentially increasing his re-election chances. The polarizing effort could jeopardize Democrats who hold seats in Trump territory, and thereby endanger Pelosi's House majority. With impeachment, Pelosi is betting her own place in history.

Pelosi has always been a risk-taker, from defying Chinese authorities by protesting at Tiananmen Square in 1991 to pushing Obamacare through the House with nary a vote to spare in 2010. But she is careful to cast impeachment not as a political gambit but as a project to preserve the checks and balances of American democracy. "That's my responsibility: to protect the Constitution of the United States," she says.

That battle is playing out on multiple fronts. As Congress returned and Trump launched the country into a potential conflict with Iran, Pelosi sought to rein him in. The House planned to vote Jan. 9 on a war powers resolution designed to limit the President's ability to escalate the conflict. The behind-the-scenes court battle that Pelosi has field-marshaled aims not just to check Trump's current power grabs, but also to set precedents that will stop future Presidents from doing the same, or worse.

And to Trump's annoyance, Pelosi is declining to transmit the House's two impeachment articles to the Senate. Instead of allowing Republican Senators to end the impeachment discussion with a quick vote, she is insisting that the upper chamber agree on rules for the trial first. "That doesn't mean it has to meet my standards. When we see what [Mitch McConnell] has in mind, we will be prepared to send over" the articles, she tells TIME on Jan. 8, in her first public comments about the standoff. "We've upped the ante on this."

Pelosi has told colleagues she's had to wear a night guard because the White House makes her grind her teeth in her sleep. But her frustration is born of determination, not unease. In our interview, I asked her if the President's nickname for her, Nervous Nancy, is accurate. "Pfft," she says, waving a hand. "He's nervous. Everything he says, he's always projecting. He knows the case that can be made against him. That's why he's falling apart."

But you're not, I ask?

"No," she says, her voice steady. "I'm emboldened."

A YEAR AGO, it was hardly a given that Pelosi would emerge as the foil to the Trump presidency—or even that she would be Speaker at all. After Pelosi orchestrated Democrats' 2018 midterm wins, an insurgent faction of the caucus moved to replace her with a younger, "less polarizing" figure. Pelosi squashed the uprising with characteristic discipline. Over the ensuing year, instead of holding grudges, she set to holding her diverse

Pelosi meets with Representatives Richard Neal and Adam Schiff and House counsel Douglas Letter in her office on Dec. 5

caucus together when ideology and identity threatened to splinter it.

For months, the Democrats' biggest division was over impeachment. As colleagues and activists agitated for it, Pelosi spent most of the year resisting on the grounds that it could tear the country apart—and hurt her party. All the while, however, she was laying the groundwork behind the scenes to build a case if necessary. "It seemed like all of a sudden we were unified around an impeachment inquiry," says Representative Katherine Clark of Massachusetts, the vice chair of the Democratic caucus. "But that was Nancy Pelosi using individual members and where they were to bring this to a—she always uses this word—a crescendo. So what appears to all of a sudden be a big moment is actually based on months of work."

From start to finish, Pelosi has kept a tighter rein on the proceedings than the public realized, from major strategic decisions to minor stagecraft. It was Pelosi who decreed that the Intelligence Committee would take the lead in the inquiry, even though impeachment is generally considered to be the Judiciary Committee's purview. (Past Judiciary hearings had devolved into a circus—particularly a Sept. 17 session in which the President's former campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, openly mocked the proceedings.) It was Pelosi who decided that the Democrats' hashtag for impeachment, #TruthExposed, seemed too harsh; they settled on #DefendOurDemocracy instead.

Pelosi refereed contentious disputes between chairmen with discretion. She signed off on every committee report and press release; aides say she caught typos in the Intelligence Committee's final report before it went out. She decreed that the articles of impeachment would be limited to Trump's actions in Ukraine rather than incorporating matters related to special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation, as some of her members wanted. When Judiciary Committee lawyers debated whether to spend half a day of hearings on a presentation related to Mueller's obstruction-of-justice probe, they

Pelosi prepares for a press conference Dec. 5 as an aide looks on

appealed the question to the Speaker, noting that the staff was split. "Tell them I'm not split," she replied, rejecting the idea. And while she allowed the committee's final report to contain references to Mueller's investigation, she demanded they be deleted from the accompanying announcement.

No aspect of the spectacle was too small to escape Pelosi's control. When the Intelligence Committee held its public impeachment hearings in November, Pelosi noticed that chairman Adam Schiff's head reached nearly to the top of his high-backed chair. After Intelligence finished its work, Judiciary, chaired by Representative Jerry Nadler, was slated to hold hearings in the same room. Pelosi thought if he sat in the same chair, Nadler—a head shorter than Schiff—would look small.

Pelosi sent word down: there would have to be a change of furniture. And when Judiciary convened on Dec. 4, Nadler was seated in a leather-backed chair that reached no higher than his ears.

IMPEACHMENT WAS the culmination of Pelosi's broader effort to hold Trump in check. For the past year, she has overseen investigations by six different congressional committees digging into everything from Trump's tax returns and allegations of Administration corruption to foreign emoluments and the Russian entanglements Mueller helped uncover. Congressional committees tend to be territorial, but Pelosi convened the six committees' chairmen weekly, and sometimes more often, to ensure they didn't duplicate efforts or step on one another's toes.

She has also guided a far-reaching effort to rein in Trump through the courts. She hired a 40-year Justice Department veteran, Douglas Letter, to head the House general counsel's office, a secretive team of nine lawyers, and confers with him on every legal filing, every subpoena. Together they have chosen cases designed to set precedents that affirm Congress' powers and shore up the institution. "She's calling the shots," Letter tells TIME, in a rare interview. Starting with his job interview, Letter says, Pelosi correctly predicted that "we would get stonewalled" by Trump and his lawyers, and would have to litigate in the courts more than usual. "She insisted we would try to pick, particularly for subpoena enforcement, really good cases."

Courts tend to view litigation between the Legislative and Executive branches with unease. Judges are leery of refereeing what they view as essentially political disputes. But Pelosi and Letter's approach has produced a string of victories. Courts have ruled in favor of releasing Trump's tax returns and other financial records, compelled the release of grand-jury materials from the Mueller investigation and dismissed the Administration's arguments for blocking witnesses. In a blistering November opinion, U.S. District Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson ruled that Donald McGahn, Trump's former White House

Ukraine was the "aha moment," Pelosi says, but impeachment was the culmination of a multiyear effort to hold Trump in check

counsel, must testify, and that the Administration's argument to the contrary "simply has no basis in the law." She added, "The primary takeaway from the past 250 years of recorded American history is that Presidents are not kings."

As those court cases got tied up in appeals, though, progress in the courts did little to satisfy those eager to use the ultimate tool of presidential accountability. Pelosi resisted impeachment throughout the summer, even as more and more members of her caucus endorsed it. "Many of them were out there for impeachment like a year ago, right after we won," she says, but she insisted on moving deliberately in order to make the strongest possible case. "I said we'll go down this path when we're ready," Pelosi says. She told her colleagues that they had to wait for the investigation and litigation to play out.

The frustration built outside of Congress too. In her San Francisco district in August, Pelosi appeared at a banquet in her honor—the "Heart of the Resistance" dinner. She had barely begun to speak when a group of young activists rose in the back, standing on chairs and unfurling black fabric banners with white lettering. TIME TO IMPEACH, they said. WE CAN'T WAIT. A young woman shouted, "People are being killed by white supremacists!" A man said, "We are your constituents!" As the crowd chanted, "Let her speak," a burly labor organizer got in the activists' faces, and for a moment it seemed as if they might come to blows before hotel security escorted the protesters out.

"It's O.K.," Pelosi said from her position at the front of the room. "I'm going to speak. I'm the Speaker of the House!" When she did speak, however, the word *impeachment* did not escape her lips.

A FEW WEEKS LATER, the Ukraine scandal changed the short-term politics and the long-term stakes. In mid-September, media outlets started to report that Trump had tried to bully his Ukrainian counterpart, Volodymyr Zelensky, into publicly announcing an investigation of Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden, using White House access and congressionally approved foreign aid as leverage. His actions had alarmed government officials, leading an intelligence-community whistle-blower to file a secret complaint.

Trump had applied the pressure during a phone call in July, the day after Mueller testified before Congress. To House Democrats, it seemed Trump was setting a dangerous precedent of presidential impunity, soliciting foreign assistance in the 2020 election just as he'd been accused of doing in 2016. "I was one of those who were very reluctant to proceed" with impeachment, says Representative Ed Perlmutter, a Democrat from Colorado who is close to Pelosi despite trying to block her from the speakership after the 2018 midterms. "But putting people's lives at risk by holding up

that aid money, extorting the Ukrainian President to do the political bidding of the President—that was something that changed the calculation for everybody."

Pelosi had already begun preparations toward impeachment when, at 5 p.m. on Monday, Sept. 23, she took a call from a group of seven freshman Democrats. All of them had military and intelligence backgrounds; all had flipped Republican districts; all had opposed impeachment to this point. Now they told her they were jointly writing an op-ed, to appear that evening on the Washington *Post*'s website, endorsing an impeachment inquiry. "We have devoted our lives to the service and security of our country," the op-ed read. "These allegations are stunning, both in the national security threat they pose and the potential corruption they represent."

Flying back to Washington from New York City that night, Pelosi began drafting an announcement in her looping cursive hand on a piece of loose-leaf paper. The next morning, the Speaker was in her airy Georgetown penthouse condo when she received an unscheduled call from the President. It was 8:16 a.m. Trump was in New York, preparing for a speech to the U.N. The subject of the call was ostensibly gun control, a topic dear to Pelosi's heart. But that turned out to be a pretext.

Trump quickly turned to the subject of the July 25 Zelensky conversation. There was "no pressure at all," he insisted, according to a source familiar with the conversation between Pelosi and the President. The call was "100% perfect. I didn't ask him for anything." Trump added, "Literally, you would be impressed by my lack of pressure."

Pelosi was unconvinced. "Mr. President," she said, "we have a problem here." She repeatedly urged the President to release the still hidden whistle-blower complaint that had set off the controversy. And she reminded him that as the longest-serving member of the House Intelligence Committee, this allegation was "in my wheelhouse." As the conversation grew tense, she urged him one more time to release the complaint. "I have to go give a speech," Trump said, and hung up.

To Pelosi, Trump's belief that the Zelensky call was "perfect" showed an inability to distinguish right from wrong. For months, she had believed voters in the 2020 election should be the ones to remove Trump from office. Now she was increasingly convinced it would be dangerous to allow him to continue his term without rebuke.

At 4 p.m. that afternoon, she met with her caucus and outlined her plan to announce an impeachment inquiry. There were no objections. As her 5 p.m. announcement drew near, an aide tugged at her sleeve, urging her to go upstairs and run through the speech just once before she went out and delivered it. Finally she turned on him, snapping, "I walk into rooms and read teleprompters all the time. That's what we'll do."

Then it was time to face the cameras for history. "The actions taken to date by the President have seriously violated the Constitution," Pelosi said. "The President must be held accountable. No one is above the law."

NOW THAT THE HOUSE has impeached Trump in a nearly party-line vote, it's fair to ask how much Pelosi's careful management of the process achieved. The Senate Republican leader, Mitch McConnell, has declared he will work to ensure Trump is acquitted. McConnell's Democratic counterpart, Chuck Schumer, seems to agree that Trump's acquittal is a foregone conclusion. "I don't want to second-guess" the outcome, Schumer tells TIME. "But these Republicans are not the Republicans of old. They are totally supine in their obeisance to Trump." Yet Schumer agrees with Pelosi that "we have no choice, given the President's lack of respect for democracy and the Constitution."

Republicans gloat that impeachment has strengthened Trump politically—that somehow, a process designed by the founders to constrain a President has perversely achieved the opposite. Trump's re-election campaign has harnessed his supporters' outrage over impeachment to raise buckets of money. As the drama played out over the final three months of 2019, Trump raked in $46 million, his best quarterly haul of the year and more than any of his Democratic rivals have raised over a similar period. Within 72 hours of Pelosi's Sept. 24 announcement that Democrats would move forward with an impeachment inquiry, the Trump campaign pulled in $15 million in small-dollar donations.

Critics accuse Pelosi of caving to pressure and violating her own conditions to pursue Trump's impeachment. Even Republicans who aren't big Trump fans have "been sort of driven toward him by this—they do feel that Democrats overplayed their hand," says Representative Peter King, a New York Republican. "This whole thing has been a rush to judgment."

But Pelosi's allies say holding out until the Ukraine scandal broke strengthened her hand. "It's made her an even more powerful voice in this moment," says Representative David Cicilline, Democrat of Rhode Island. "She resisted this for so long because she really understood the consequences to the country. That gives her tremendous credibility with the American people when she came to the conclusion it was necessary."

It's an open question whether Pelosi's gamble has the public's support. In polls, a slight plurality of Americans—just over 49%—support Trump's impeachment, according to averages tabulated by FiveThirtyEight. That number shot up after the scandal began, and is historically high, but it has barely budged since October, and Trump's approval rating has remained steady in the low 40s as well. Democratic pollster Geoff Garin says that despite GOP claims to the contrary, "there's no evidence that impeachment has changed the fundamental dynamics of the 2020 election." Trump's opponents, he contends, are even more galvanized by impeachment than his supporters are. And by November 2020, Garin says, the data suggest that voters will base their decisions far more on issues like health care than on impeachment.

In mid-December, I sat down with Pelosi again and asked her to respond to some of the criticism of the process. The Speaker was battling a lingering winter cold, and was in the midst of last-minute negotiations with the White House and Senate on a $1.4 trillion spending deal to avert a shutdown while sharply cutting back Trump's requested border funding.

The idea of a rush to impeachment exasperates the Speaker, who points out that the White House limited the evidence available with its unprecedented stonewalling. And Pelosi contends that the process is merely an extension of the prior investigations of Trump. "This has been going on for 2½ years, since the Justice

'These Republicans are not the Republicans of old. They are totally supine in their obeisance to Trump.'

Chuck Schumer

Department tasked Director Mueller to go into the investigation," she says. "It's been going on for a long time. The aha moment was Ukraine. But the pattern of behavior was very self-evident over time."

Many Democrats hoped some Republicans might support impeachment; Pelosi claims nothing ever surprises her. "It's disappointing to see that they are ignoring their own oath of office," she says. "The President must be held accountable. And the fact that the Republicans are even in denial of the factual basis of what happened is sad for our country."

On Dec. 17, the night before the full House would debate and vote on Trump's impeachment, Pelosi met behind closed doors with top caucus members on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. She hinted, for the first time, that she was contemplating a curveball: declining to immediately transmit the impeachment articles to the Senate after the House passed them. "The rule empowers the Speaker to be able to decide how to send the articles and when to send the articles over to the Senate," she said, according to an aide who was in the room. "My view is we don't know enough about what they are going to do. We want to see what [is] their level of fairness and openness and the rest."

Pelosi, according to an aide, had been mulling the tactic since she heard former Nixon White House counsel John Dean float the idea on CNN on Dec. 5. In the committee meeting, she added that she believed McConnell would be motivated to move. "Somebody said to me today that he may not even take up what we send. [But] then [Trump] will never be vindicated," she said, according to the aide in the room. "He will be impeached forever. Forever. No matter what the Senate does."

The following day, Pelosi presided over the floor vote on impeachment, wearing a striking black suit to project solemnity, accessorized with a large gold brooch of the Mace of the Republic, a symbol of the House. When scattered cheers broke out inside the chamber after the first article was approved, she sternly and silently shushed them with a glare and a sharp gesture. After the vote, she announced that she did not plan to transmit the articles right away, saying she could not determine how to appoint House impeachment managers until the Senate decides on its rules for the trial.

McConnell has mocked the idea that Pelosi or Schumer can shape the Senate trial to their liking. But he's also said he won't start it until Pelosi sends the articles, and it's clear from Trump's tweets and statements that the unresolved situation bothers him. Moreover, the delay is allowing facts to emerge. Over the two-week holiday break, newly unredacted emails showed Pentagon officials worrying about the legality of Trump's effort to withhold military aid from Ukraine. And on Jan. 6, former National Security Adviser John Bolton, potentially a key witness to Trump's alleged actions toward Ukraine, announced he would testify before the Senate if subpoenaed. On Jan. 7, McConnell announced that he had enough Republican votes to begin the trial, and Democrats in both chambers appeared to be getting restless—but still Pelosi refused to budge.

The gambit is reminiscent of another Pelosi maneuver designed to exploit Trump's insecurities. Pelosi retook the speakership a year ago amid a government shutdown triggered by Trump's demand for border-wall funding. She refused to negotiate on the matter until the government reopened. As the stalemate dragged on, Pelosi seized on an unexpected source of leverage: she postponed Trump's State of the Union address to Congress, knowing that he prized it as a televised set piece showcasing his power.

Then she stubbornly waited out her adversary. "The President tried to break us in January [2019] by throwing us into a government shutdown at the same time we were transitioning into the majority," says Hakeem Jeffries, a Democratic Congressman from New York who serves as caucus chairman. "We held together, and instead of breaking us, we broke him. It ended in unconditional surrender."

THIS POWER STRUGGLE between the branches of government was not Pelosi's vision. She preferred the emphasis to be on the Democrats' policy agenda. She believed that kitchen-table concerns were more important to voters and wanted to show that Democrats are capable of governing. Despite Trump's criticism of the "do-nothing Democrats," the House has passed nearly 400 bills, most with GOP support. If there's a single morning that captures how Pelosi has juggled the priorities of policymaking and oversight, it is Dec. 10, when she led the 9 a.m. announcement of the impeachment articles, then proceeded directly to a 10 a.m. press conference to announce that the House had made a deal to pass the President's revision of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Her approach is a stark departure from how the GOP handled Barack Obama's presidency—opposing Obama at every turn, determined not to give him victories even on uncontroversial matters. Pelosi and Schumer have found ways to work with Trump, particularly on trade,

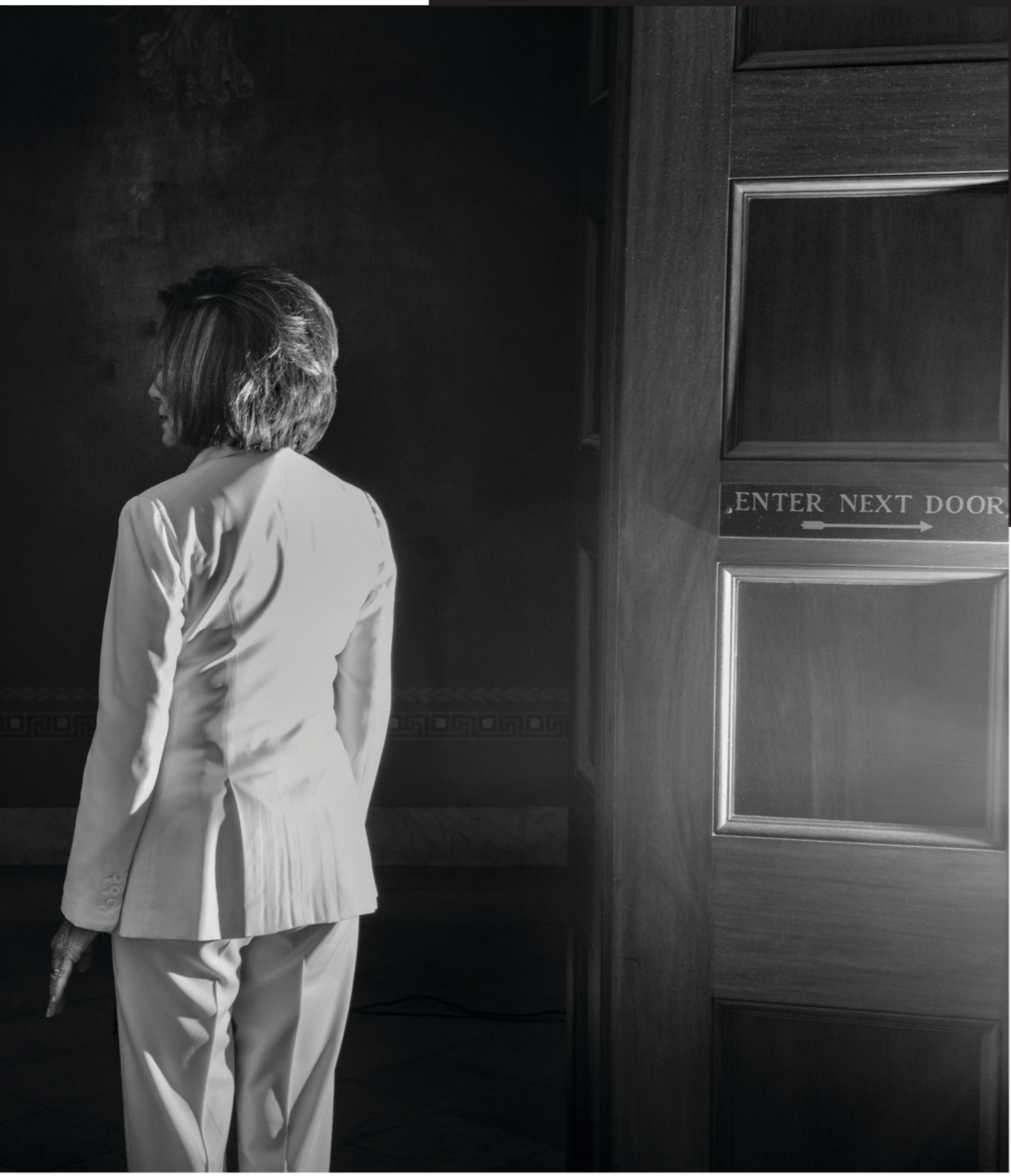
prescription drugs and infrastructure, an approach that rankles the left. "Democrats should not be giving Donald Trump wins that normalize his presidency and give him a set of accomplishments to campaign on," says Brian Fallon of the liberal group Demand Justice. "He benefits vastly more from a bipartisan trade deal than they do." In a stroke of irony, the Speaker whose moderate colleagues tried to get rid of her for fear she struck heartland voters as too far left is now hailed—or derided—as a moderating force.

Yet House Democrats from all wings of the diverse caucus say they are more unified than at any time in recent memory. "I think we're doing the very best we could," says Representative Chrissy Houlahan of Pennsylvania, one of the authors of the national-security freshmen's op-ed. Liberal Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, agreed: "It's been a very disciplined approach."

That comity will be tested as Washington heads into an election year. More is at stake than the balance between the parties. The institutions of American democracy are being tested. The checks and balances designed by the founders depend on the coequal branches' ability to stand up to one another. "She's had a herculean task, and she's done it brilliantly," says Jonathan Rose, a former Nixon and Reagan Administration lawyer affiliated with the anti-Trump conservative legal group Checks and Balances. "I never thought I'd be for Nancy Pelosi in my lifetime."

Pelosi, for her part, won't admit to any preference for her party's 2020 nominee. But the Speaker, as usual, has a strategy for how she believes the Democrats should proceed. "The message has to be one that is not menacing," she says. "What works in Michigan works in San Francisco, about job creation and the rest. But what works in San Francisco may not work in Michigan. Michigan is where we must win, and we must win in the Electoral College. We won the House last year by having mobilization at the grassroots level. We have to do that again." The question for Democrats now may have less to do with the effects of Pelosi's actions than whether they heed her advice. —*With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON *and* BRIAN BENNETT/WASHINGTON

Pelosi, at the Capitol on Dec. 5, has staked the 2020 elections on impeachment. "No one is above the law," she said



LEADER OF A LONELY ISLAND

Taiwan's Tsai Ing-wen seeks re-election in the last truly free place in the Chinese-speaking world By Charlie Campbell/Taipei

IN THE EARLY 1980S, A YOUNG TAIWANESE STUDENT newly enrolled at the London School of Economics heard a knock at her dormitory door. A pair of bedraggled British students were there to ask Tsai Ing-wen if she wanted to subscribe to a newspaper. In the spirit of collegiality, she readily agreed. "It was only later that I discovered it was a communist newspaper," she tells TIME, laughing. "I eventually told them to keep my check but just stop sending the newspaper."

More than 30 years later, Taiwan's political leader is still fending off unwelcome leftist overtures. Elected President of the self-governing island of 23 million in 2016, Tsai set out to steer it further from China's orbit. Taiwan has its own military, its own passport and the world's 21st largest economy. But ever since 1949, when Mao Zedong's forces ended a civil war by chasing the Nationalists to the island 100 miles (160 km) off the mainland, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has considered it a renegade province that must be reunited with China, by force if necessary. Through most of the Cold War, the capitalist enclave was shielded by the West. But in a world China now aims to lead after embracing market forces, Taiwan's position has grown only more vulnerable.

So has Tsai's. The Chinese strongman Xi Jinping in January 2019 declared unification across the Taiwan Strait the "great trend of history," and his campaign to that end has gathered in intensity; Tsai's first term was marred by diplomatic isolation, tightening economic screws and repeated threats of invasion. Taiwan finds less and less room to maneuver between forced reunification and resorting to force to remain independent. Tsai took a substantial risk in December 2016, when she phoned U.S. President-elect Donald Trump to congratulate him on his election victory. The call was the first between American and Taiwanese leaders since the U.S. recognized the CCP's dominion over China, including Taiwan, in 1979. In an interview with TIME, Tsai called the conversation a "very natural thing." But it was deemed

PHOTOGRAPH BY NHU XUAN HUA FOR TIME

President Tsai, photographed in her Taipei office on Oct. 6

an affront by Beijing, one compounded when Trump suggested the U.S. might revisit the question of Taiwan's status as a part of China.

The mercurial U.S. President adds a new wobble of uncertainty to the tightrope Taiwan has been walking for 70 years. Historically, even after embracing Beijing, the U.S. has maintained a strong, unofficial alliance with Taiwan. But as Trump has become entangled with China on matters from trade to cyberespionage, some in Taiwan worry that the famously transactional American leader might view their country as a pawn to be exchanged for something else, like a preferential trade deal.

"If Taiwan becomes a major issue between Trump and Xi, nobody knows what Trump might do," says Professor Shelley Rigger, an East Asia expert at Davidson College in North Carolina.

As Taiwan approaches elections on Jan. 11, the question for its people is whether they still trust Tsai to safeguard their democratic way of life. Her main opponent, Nationalist candidate and Kaohsiung Mayor Han Kuo-yu, hopes to convince voters that working closely with an increasingly influential and assertive Beijing will ultimately better protect the island's de facto sovereignty. "Taiwan has one choice—to engage with China, because we can't hide," Han recently told students at Stanford University.

But Tsai's Democratic Progressive Party does not endorse the idea that island and mainland are the same country. Formal independence for Taiwan is a key goal in its party charter. Beijing says any move to "secede" would be met with a military response, and Tsai has pragmatically sidestepped the issue while in power. But her policy of prioritizing ties with other Asian nations has deeply troubled the Communist Party leadership, as has her full-throated support of pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong.

Now the future of Taiwan—without rival the freest place in the Chinese-speaking world—as a U.S.-allied, liberal, democratic beacon in Asia is under "constant assault," Tsai says, as Beijing tightens the noose on restive populations at its periphery, from Xinjiang to Tibet to, of course, Hong Kong. The CCP sees this election as an opportunity to do the same to Taiwan, Tsai says—something she is determined to prevent. "Beijing would like to see a divided Taiwan, to see our economy and development stall, to create a better foothold to influence cross-strait relations," she says. "However, when it comes to Taiwan's sovereignty, democracy and freedom, I believe our people are mostly in agreement."

'CHINA'S MILITARY CAPACITY IS GROWING, AND IT HARBORS EXPANSIONIST INTENTIONS.'

—TSAI ING-WEN, PRESIDENT OF TAIWAN

TSAI, 63, IS A TECHNOCRAT and former academic who has tried to shrug off a reputation for aloofness with a dizzying schedule of campaign events. On a single day, TIME followed her to a kindergarten, a farm, a technology conference and half a dozen temples. On another, she inspected frogman drills at military camps before tea at an artists' retreat.

She is hoping this kind of retail politics can reverse a decline in her popularity over her first term in office, driven by party divisions; unwelcome pension reforms; and embarrassing scandals, like bodyguards caught using official trips abroad to smuggle cigarettes. Her decision to make Taiwan the first place in Asia to legalize marriage equality sparked a fierce conservative backlash. Still, Tsai, herself never wed, remains proud of the achievement, which "shows that Taiwan is an open and inclusive society and a rather mature democracy."

She's also suffering from the kind of resurgent populism afflicting democracies the world over. The viral rise of Tsai's Nationalist opponent has been precipitous enough to be called the "Han wave." His chest-thumping speeches and outlandish promises during his successful mayoral campaign—to drill for oil in the contested South China Sea and bring casinos and Formula One to Kaohsiung—have naturally drawn comparisons to the 45th U.S. President. "You cannot have a conversation about Han Kuo-yu without Donald Trump coming up," says Rigger. "Everybody sees the parallels between those two guys."

Tsai isn't blind to the risks. "The rise of disinformation and populism have brought great challenges to leaders and governments around the world," she says. Yet the challenge is greater for Taiwan with a rapacious Beijing lurking and, she believes, pulling the strings. In the months leading up to the vote, Taiwan has been hit by a tsunami of false reports

BILLY H.C. KWOK FOR TIME

masquerading as news stories in its partisan and sensationalist media, often targeting Tsai. Her administration and independent analysts say a large proportion originate in the CCP's United Front propaganda department, though the Chinese government denies any such campaign.

So Tsai is fighting back in kind, charming voters with renewed zeal and posting social-media videos of her frolicking with the two cats and three retired guide dogs she's adopted. The key to protecting Taiwan's democracy, she says, lies in "public participation in our efforts to counter disinformation." It has worked, if her improved numbers are anything to go by.

A widening lead might also be explained by the ongoing turmoil in Hong Kong, which for over six months has been convulsed by increasingly violent pro-democracy protests against encroachment by Beijing. Last January, Xi suggested Hong Kong's system of semiautonomy—known as "One country, two systems"—might eventually be a model for Taiwan. But that idea had little support among Taiwan's citizens then, and even less now that unrest has engulfed the former British colony. "[The Hong Kong situation] has, of course, negatively affected the Taiwanese people's trust in China," says Tsai.

Still, Taiwan has been sucked into the escalating crisis. Its citizens have marched in support of Hong Kong's right to self-determination and offered safe harbor to fleeing protesters. In October, Taiwan expelled a mainland tourist for vandalizing a public memorial in support of the demonstrations. Tsai sees a dire warning for her people in the leeching of freedoms there. "Seeing these developments in Hong Kong, the Taiwanese people feel the need for a leader who can stand firm, insist on what has to be insisted upon and clearly express their will," says Tsai.

Tsai has been determined to take her message directly to voters on the campaign trail

IF TSAI IS RE-ELECTED this month, she will have to helm Taiwan through a period of deep uncertainty, as Beijing's geopolitical clout continues to grow. Today, the island, officially known by the archaic pre-civil-war name Republic of China, is blocked by Beijing from joining the U.N. or potentially lucrative free-trade groupings. It is now recognized by only 15 countries after seven switched to Beijing during Tsai's first term.

Beijing is also squeezing the island economically. In August, it stopped the free movement of independent Chinese tourists to Taiwan, a free-spending cohort that comprised 82,000 arrivals per month in 2018. The burning question for Taiwan is how far Beijing is prepared to go. "China is already taking steps similar to what Russia did in Crimea," says Taiwan's Foreign Minister, Joseph Wu, referring to the annexation of the Ukrainian peninsula. Moreover, he says, were China's slowing economy to foment domestic unrest, then Taiwan might find itself "a very easy scapegoat."

In order to mitigate the risk, Taiwan has sought to spread its influence indirectly, building cultural, economic and humanitarian ties. During the recent presidential crisis in Venezuela, for example, Taiwan was one of the few actors able to send much-needed aid over the border from Colombia. To boost its soft power, Taiwan offers international cooperation in unconventional areas such as media literacy and disaster recovery. "Many of our allies still support Taiwan because they share the same values with us and will not be swayed by China's economic inducements," says Tsai.

Yet because few small nations can ignore Beijing's dollar diplomacy, Taiwan's ties with the U.S. have taken on newfound importance. The U.S. has moved in recent years to offset China's attempts to isolate its wayward province, much to Beijing's ire. In March 2018, Trump signed the bipartisan Taiwan Travel Act, which boosts the exchange of high-level officials. Then, last October, a U.S. bill to protect Taiwan from Chinese diplomatic pressure won Senate approval. That same month, former Republican presidential-primary candidate Ted Cruz became the first U.S. Senator in 35 years to join Taiwan's National Day celebrations, cementing a "friendship that has never been more important as Taiwan stands up to the Chinese Communist Party's oppression," he tells TIME.

One of Tsai's first priorities if re-elected will be to build on these overtures from allies in Congress. She may need them, as China's ambitions are widely believed to stretch further still. In the South China Sea, it has militarized disputed islands and reefs into fortifications dubbed "unsinkable aircraft carriers." In September, the Pacific nations of Kiribati and the Solomon Islands each restored diplomatic ties with China, a move Tsai's government believes may give Beijing an enhanced foothold in the region. "China took them by strategic design," Wu says. "If the international community does not react strongly, China might make changes to the Pacific in the same way as the South China Sea."

Although Beijing insists these and other fortifications are defensive in nature, Tsai isn't buying it. "China's military capacity is still growing, and it harbors expansionist intentions," she says. The danger is that the alarm bells might be ignored by a world so entwined with Beijing economically, including the U.S. But for Taiwan, there's no choice. The islanders will, as ever, be standing in the breach. ◻

ESCAPING THE TRENCH

A century later, the Great War comes alive onscreen

BY KARL VICK

THE PROBLEM WITH WORLD WAR I ON THE SCREEN is exactly the problem of World War I in reality: it may have been a linchpin of modern history, the fissure dividing the 19th century from the 20th, profoundly transformative and utterly destructive, but it was also a static affair, fought from fortified trench lines out of which hundreds of thousands of young men emerged just long enough to be killed. Stanley Kubrick located a superb film, 1957's *Paths of Glory,* in the ornate chambers (and the perfidy) of the generals who oversaw the waste of those lives. But motion pictures do require a certain amount of motion, and the major accomplishment of *1917,* the latest film to join the canon, may be that its makers figured out what the generals could not: a way to advance.

The breakthrough idea of director Sam Mendes was to dispatch a pair of messengers into a no-man's-land that has been mysteriously expanded from a few hundred yards to several miles by the puzzling and stealthy retreat of German forces. The couriers carry a warning that the retreat is a trap, intended to draw an attack from a British commander who must be

In the new movie 1917, a war characterized by long periods of stasis is rendered in propulsive forward motion

Mendes directs Chapman, left, and MacKay on location in rural England

reached before dawn, when his troops are scheduled to advance into what amounts to a buzz saw. The scenario is grounded in real circumstances—the confusion over the Germans' strategic retreat in northern France to the heavily fortified "Hindenburg Line," and the common absence, at the time, of radios for battlefield communication. But the movie cares only about the moment. The camera stays with the two lance corporals from the film's first frame to its last, as if unfolding in one long take, much like the technique employed by Alejandro González Iñárritu in his 2015 Best Picture winner *Birdman*. The aim is to immerse the viewer in a propulsive, at times headlong journey that travels like a lit fuse.

"I took a calculated gamble," says Mendes. "And I'm pleased I did because of the energy you get just from driving forward, in a war that was fundamentally about paralysis and stasis." The idea for the script, which Mendes wrote with Krysty Wilson-Cairns, came from the story of Mendes' grandfather, a native of Trinidad who was a messenger for the British on the Western Front. The film is dedicated to the grandfather, Alfred H. Mendes, and in an interview, the director describes him in different ways at different points. "He was a great storyteller," Mendes says. "He was very Edwardian, very theatrical. You know, he used phrases like 'Great Scott!' And so he was a very magnetic person, very charismatic." But the grandson also noticed that the old man washed his hands compulsively, and when he asked his own dad why, he was told, "He remembers the mud of the trenches."

The two impressions also reside in *1917*. On the one hand, the film has the immediacy and sense of utter dread that defines combat and its prelude. Things, including terrifying things, happen abruptly. To ratchet up the uncertainty, relative unknowns were cast in the lead roles. *Game of Thrones*' Dean-Charles Chapman plays Blake, the round-faced soldier who gets the assignment of carrying the vital message because he has a brother among the 1,600 men at risk. George MacKay is Schofield, who happens to be reclining against a tree near Blake when the order arrives. We know almost nothing else about them, including their first names. The vagueness is as deliberate as the casting. "If one of those actors is Leonardo DiCaprio," the director says, "you know he ain't going to die."

At the same time, for all the mud and rats and viscera, no one is going to mistake *1917* for a documentary. The nearly $95 million production has the signature veneer of a filmmaker who came to the attention of Hollywood with his 2000

PREVIOUS PAGES: UNIVERSAL; THESE PAGES: 1917: UNIVERSAL; SHUTTERSTOCK (3)

Academy Award–winning debut *American Beauty* and directed the last two James Bond features. The cinematographer is Roger Deakins, nominated 14 times for Oscars for films from *Fargo* to *Kundun* to *Sicario;* he won in 2018 for *Blade Runner 2049*. Reviews have been glowing, and on Jan. 5, in something of an upset, the movie won Golden Globes for Best Picture (Drama) and Best Director, launching it to the front of the pack of Oscar hopefuls.

Sitting down in a Manhattan hotel a couple of days after finishing the film, Mendes says the Bond franchise gave him a certain comfort level with the scale involved in the war project, including the great tides of extras. The real challenge of *1917* was as new as the technology that made it possible. Because the finished film would have just one visible cut, every scene had to be planned to the second, and stop-watched as it was rehearsed. That meant weeks of arranging, then rearranging the cardboard boxes that formed rehearsal trenches on a Shepperton Studios soundstage, then counting steps (and seconds) in the English countryside near Stonehenge that doubled as northern France. It also locked the film into place from the start. Any decision that a director might, in any other picture, reconsider over weeks in the editing room had to be made in advance. As a logistical challenge, it was a bit like mounting a military campaign.

WAR HAS ACTUALLY become relatively rare in recent years, at least between, as opposed to within, countries. Asked why he made this movie now, Mendes has a slightly dutiful-sounding answer about how, "In war, you see human beings pushed to their extremes and forced to confront what it means to be alive, and what it means to sacrifice yourself for other people." But he also made it now because he could. It may have taken a century, but the technology that allowed cinema to capture the War to End All Wars finally was at hand, chiefly in the form of a prototype feature camera so small it could be run from a wire, rig, truck or drone, with Deakins controlling it from a nearby van that maneuvered to stay out of frame.

"You know, we pushed massively over the last 20 years toward hyperkinetic editing, some of it brilliant," says Mendes. "Something like the *Bourne* movies, it's visceral. It feels like you're being hit in the gut when you get caught in an action sequence. But we haven't pushed a commensurate distance in the other direction. What happens if there is nothing? With this new technology, create this ribbon of action, this unbroken snaking ribbon in which the things that you want the audience to see just happened to intersect in front of the camera at the right moment."

That's how *1917* works. As Blake and Schofield trot along British trench lines, then go over the top—"Straight ahead, past the dead horses," a helpful, hollow-eyed officer advises—the viewer goes with them. There may not be a cut in the film, but except for a couple of lengthy tracking shots (the transverse of no-man's-land comes close to a fun-house ride), the camera manages not to call attention to itself.

"I wanted this constant, slightly threatening forward motion," says Mendes, and across nearly two hours it's what he achieves. It's true not only through Hieronymus Bosch hellscapes with the thrumming piano-wire tension (and piano-wire sound) reminiscent of Christopher Nolan's 2017 *Dunkirk,* but also in what lies beyond: countryside, verdant and rolling and, ultimately, lost, at least as a reference point for a more innocent sensibility that, after the machine gun, was no longer grounded in the beauty and rhythms of nature.

In print, that cleaving informed the magisterial *The Great War and Modern Memory* by Paul Fussell, the American cultural historian whose experience as an infantry officer in World War II left him with a contained rage that he put to excellent use. Fussell cast a scalding eye on the nostalgic glow that wreathes most accounts of military action, including the cottage industry of "the Greatest Generation." He spent much of his professional life searching out the (exceedingly rare) accounts of wartime that are true to the lived experience of combat. For World War I, he found them in the writings of Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves and other Brits who survived a war that, by way of announcing a brutal new modern world, emptied a nation of its young men.

"For us, it's a lost generation," says Mendes, who as a student growing up in the U.K. read Sassoon's satirical poems and Graves' memoir *Goodbye to All That.* "If you go through all the small villages and towns of England, you'll find many more memorials to the lost of World War I than World War II. It throws a bigger cultural shadow."

But then during the Second World War, movies were already a dominant medium, and films were being made both about the conflict and, as the History Channel reminds us every hour or so, also of it. Poetry, literature and art were all that was available to record the experiences of 1914 to 1918, almost always in retrospect. Among the things *1917* communicates is the sense of an idyll interrupted. The natural world features in the film, both the nourishment of its beauty—a wooded glade behind the front line, a lone tree on a rolling plain—and in its defilement by trenches and craters aswim with body parts. The reality of the First World War may defy metaphor, but if you keep moving, as the two lance corporals must, a lot of ground can be covered.

"I wanted something that had the quality of a dream at times, but had real-life stakes," Mendes says. "Any narrative, any fiction is a compression in time, a compression of character. You're trying to find the tip of an iceberg. And if the tip is well done, the iceberg becomes clear. You don't have to see it if you know it's there." ◻

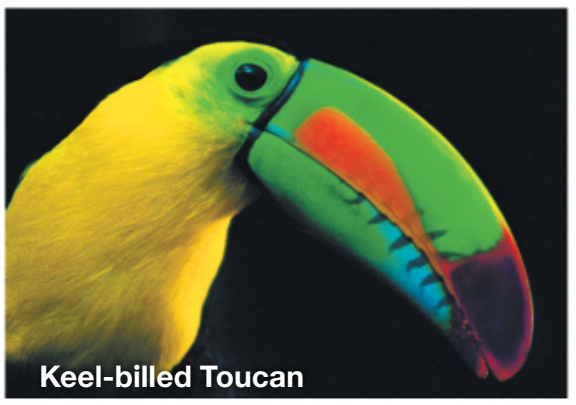
THE WAR ONSCREEN

***ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT* (1930)**
The film adaptation of the best-selling novel about disenchanted German soldiers was banned in Nazi Germany

***PATHS OF GLORY* (1957)**
Kirk Douglas stars as a French officer defending soldiers accused of cowardice in this antiwar drama, inspired by a true story, that launched Stanley Kubrick's career

***GALLIPOLI* (1981)**
Set farther East, this Golden Globe–nominated Australian feature, starring Mel Gibson, depicts the Allies' failed 1915–16 Battle of Gallipoli (now in Turkey)

Manuel Antonio National Park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5, 6	**Guanacaste**	J.W. Marriott
7	**Manuel Antonio**	San Bada
8	**San José**	Real InterContinental

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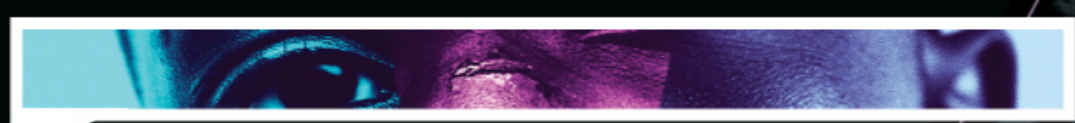

MOVIES

TELEVISION

INSIDE

THE BEST TV SHOWS AND MINISERIES

THE BEST MOVIES AND PERFORMANCES

THE BEST ALBUMS AND SONGS

THE BEST FICTION AND NONFICTION

TV SHOWS

— By Judy Berman

THE GOOD PLACE 2016–

It's been a bleak decade for broadcast networks since the surge of streaming—with the exception of this outlier. What makes the show unique is a surreal premise that places four newly dead humans in an afterlife where nothing is as it seems. Created by Michael Schur and starring the charismatic duo Kristen Bell and Ted Danson, *The Good Place* doubles as a course in moral philosophy and raises the question of whether humans can change for the better. *(NBC)*

MAD MEN 2007–2015

You could argue that *Mad Men,* an era-defining hit that followed maverick 1960s ad exec Don Draper as he blew up the picture-perfect life he'd created for himself, made its greatest impact in the 2000s. Along with charming viewers, early seasons started a vogue for midcentury retro style. But, spread out over a decade as tumultuous as the one we just lived through, the characters' triumphs and sorrows cut deeper the better we got to know them. In its final moments, *Mad Men* invited us to meditate on whether it's crazy to seek fulfillment in whatever it is you do for money. *(AMC)*

BETTER CALL SAUL 2015–

This prequel to the hit *Breaking Bad* tells Saul Goodman's origin story as petty criminal turned repentant attorney Jimmy McGill. Originally envisioned as a comedy, the show turned out to be a serious inquiry into what it means to be a good person. While Bob Odenkirk's heartbreaking tragicomic performance sets the tone, a cast of distinctive characters—from Jimmy's ambivalent sometime girlfriend Kim Wexler to quasi-principled gangster Nacho Varga—illustrates just how sticky seemingly basic ethical dilemmas can be. *(AMC)*

MINISERIES

THE PEOPLE V. O.J. SIMPSON: AMERICAN CRIME STORY 2016

The first season of this true-crime anthology from the extended Ryan Murphy universe dissected a football hero's 1995 murder trial, highlighting issues like media bias, celebrity privilege and police racism. *(FX)*

SHARP OBJECTS 2018

From Gillian Flynn, Marti Noxon and Jean-Marc Vallée, this Southern Gothic saga cast Amy Adams as a self-destructive journalist who returns to her hometown to investigate the murders of two young girls. *(HBO)*

THE YOUNG POPE 2017

Initially an absurdist rendering of an upstart's attempts to manipulate the church to suit his own ego, this show from Italian filmmaker Paolo Sorrentino evolves into a deeper, more sincere and searching examination of an old religion's role in modern life. *(HBO)*

WOLF HALL 2015

TV's best U.K. import of the decade cast Mark Rylance as the antihero of Hilary Mantel's brilliant Thomas Cromwell novels. Cromwell rose from humble origins to become Henry VIII's most trusted adviser—until he wasn't, at which time he was executed. *(PBS)*

WHEN THEY SEE US 2019

With her wrenching miniseries about the Central Park Five, Ava DuVernay recast a notorious case of institutional racism, demonstrating how false convictions irreparably altered the futures of five innocent black and Latino boys. *(Netflix)*

FLEABAG 2016–2019

After years of prestige dramas that captured the inner turmoil of straight, middle-aged white men, *Fleabag*—a raw, funny account of grief, guilt and sexual compulsion from British writer and star Phoebe Waller-Bridge—stood out. Three years after its first season established the plight of Waller-Bridge's titular hero, the show returned with a surprising redemption arc. As millennials struggled through their first decades of adulthood, Fleabag's spiritual journey suggested how a lost generation might find itself. *(Amazon)*

ATLANTA 2016–

Donald Glover has become a cultural force, thanks in part to his experimental FX comedy *Atlanta,* about a broke Princeton dropout who's pinned his hopes to managing his rapper cousin Paper Boi. Within that roomy framework, Glover has offered an extended parody of BET, a riff on the Florida Man meme and a horror flick that doubles as a critique of "black excellence." Hilarious and surprising, the show's commentary on race, class and the entertainment industry is always on point. *(FX)*

TWIN PEAKS: THE RETURN 2017

David Lynch's third season of *Twin Peaks,* which originally ran on ABC in the '90s, is loosely structured around righteous FBI man Dale Cooper's re-emergence after being stuck in the eerie interzone of the Black Lodge for 25 years. Originally a simpler, semisatirical mashup of horror movie, police procedural and soap-opera tropes, *Twin Peaks: The Return* metamorphosed into a fun-house mirror of fixations such as screens and nostalgia. Every episode was a mystery with infinite solutions. *(Showtime)*

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COLLEEN HAYES—NBCU PHOTO BANK VIA GETTY IMAGES; GUY D'ALEMA—FX/EVERETT COLLECTION; SUZANNE TENNER—SHOWTIME; NETFLIX/EVERETT COLLECTION

ORIGINALLY A SIMPLER, SEMI-SATIRICAL MASHUP OF HORROR MOVIE, POLICE PROCEDURAL AND SOAP-OPERA TROPES,* TWIN PEAKS: THE RETURN *METAMORPHOSED INTO A FUN-HOUSE MIRROR

HALT AND CATCH FIRE 2014–2017

Halt and Catch Fire told the story of the 1980s personal-computer revolution through the eyes of four whip-smart (but frequently unlucky) developers, entrepreneurs and collaborators. Yet for all its futurism, it was a drama about the power of creative teamwork to forge interpersonal connections. The show captured the way these sometime business partners made one another more genuine and fulfilled people—and it articulated the many, still unresolved dangers of treating monetizable innovation as an end in itself. *(AMC)*

BOJACK HORSEMAN 2014–

When Netflix announced the first season of this animated series, many people had doubts about the story of a gloomy talking horse who used to star in a hit '90s sitcom. Little did we know it would soon evolve into not just a sharp Hollywood satire, but also a bracing exploration of ambition, personal responsibility and familial trauma, as well as an empathetic portrait of mental illness. *BoJack* has become both the streamer's masterpiece and the best animated series of its generation. *(Netflix)*

THE LEFTOVERS 2014–2017

Spanning seven years in the aftermath of a rapture-like event dubbed the "Sudden Departure," in which 2% of earth's population vanished, *The Leftovers* began as a bleak portrait of collective mourning. But it soon blossomed into an exploration of faith and love in a contemporary setting stripped of the certainty that has come with scientific progress. The show offered the rare secular 21st century narrative endowed with spiritual resonance. *(HBO)*

ENLIGHTENED 2011–2013

There are two ways to frame *Enlightened*'s Amy Jellicoe (co-creator Laura Dern): from one perspective, she's a former corporate executive who returns from rehab and exacts revenge on the company that ruined her life. Alternately, she's a hero who risks everything to expose corruption in her workplace. The show anticipated many defining themes of the years to come, from "flawed" female characters and brave whistle-blowers to #MeToo, the selfish undertones of wellness culture and Americans' increasing discomfort with big corporations. *(HBO)*

ROMA 2018

Alfonso Cuarón's extraordinary film-as-remembrance is drawn from the director's own upper-middle-class upbringing in Mexico City in the 1970s. But it's hardly about him at all: his focus is on the women who raised him, particularly a household servant named Cleo, played beautifully by Yalitza Aparicio. Glorious and tender, *Roma* invites us into a world of memory—and although these memories belong to someone else, by the film's end, they somehow belong to us too.

THE LOST CITY OF Z 2017

Director James Gray is an old-style craftsman: he's unafraid of intense emotions, written out in a bold yet fine-grained filmmaking language. In *The Lost City of Z,* adapted from David Grann's 2009 book, Charlie Hunnam stars as real-life British explorer Percy Fawcett, who disappeared in the Amazonian jungle in 1925 while seeking a lost civilization. Pictures with the grand sweep and dreamy energy of *The Lost City of Z* are rare. This is itself a message in a bottle, a missive from a lost world of movies.

SELMA 2014

Ava DuVernay's passionate historical drama has only become more relevant in the years since its release. *Selma* tells the story of the three 1965 marches, from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., led by Martin Luther King—played by David Oyelowo—as a protest against restrictions on the voting rights of African Americans. Within that framework, DuVernay dramatizes some of the most significant moments in the history of the civil rights movement, and you feel the weight of every act.

MOONLIGHT 2016

Barry Jenkins' *Moonlight* is a coming-of-age movie, a love story and an exploration of human vulnerability. The film follows one character (played by Alex R. Hibbert, Ashton Sanders and Trevante Rhodes) as he grows from a scrawny, insecure kid to a beefed-up, closed-off adult who's physically robust but still emotionally fragile. *Moonlight* leaves you feeling both stripped bare and restored, better prepared to step out and face the world of people around you. There's not much more you can ask from a movie.

MOONLIGHT *LEAVES YOU FEELING BOTH STRIPPED BARE AND RESTORED, BETTER PREPARED TO STEP OUT AND FACE THE WORLD OF PEOPLE AROUND YOU*

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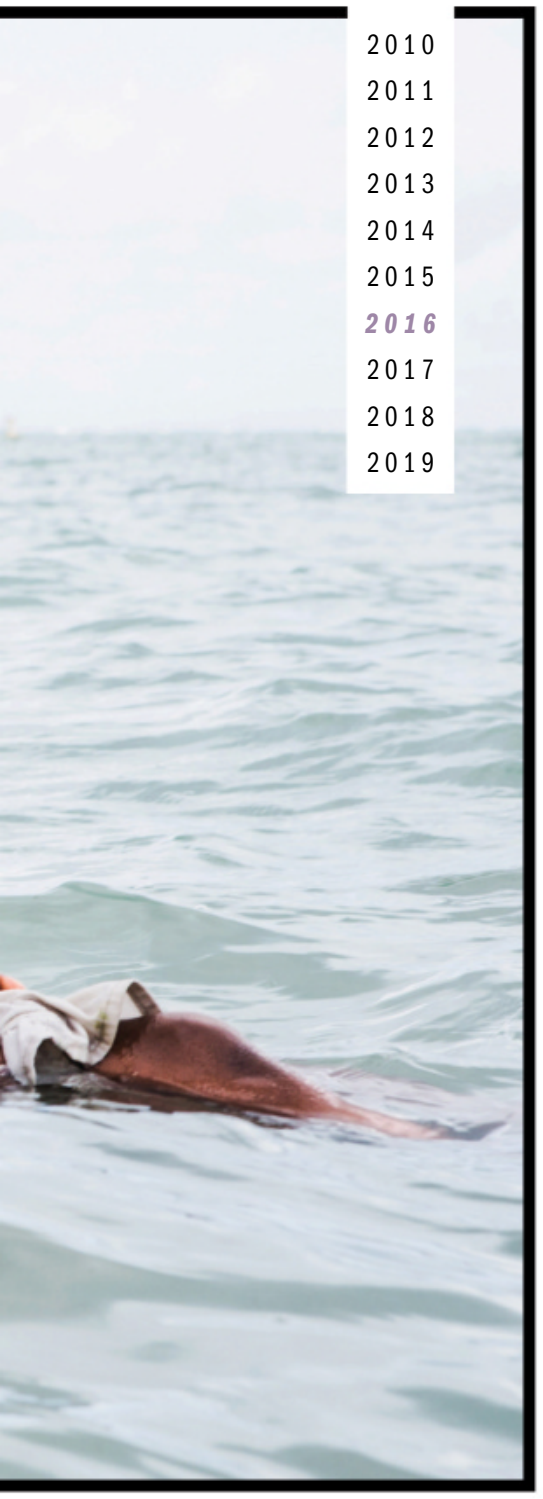

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MOVIES

By Stephanie Zacharek

JOHN WICK 2014

Directed by two veteran stuntmen, Chad Stahelski and David Leitch, *John Wick* begins with a horrific puppy murder and ends with a kind of benediction. In between, its star, Keanu Reeves, moves through a revenge plot that involves smoking a bunch of Russian baddies. And oh, how he moves! Reeves is one of our finest action stars, and the fight scenes in *John Wick* are beautifully shot and edited to showcase the glory of human movement. Action films, done right, are one of the great pleasures of moviegoing, and *John Wick*—violent, sick as hell and often terrifically funny—has it all.

PHOENIX 2014

In this near perfect romance and thriller from Christian Petzold, the extraordinary German actor Nina Hoss plays Nelly, who has survived Auschwitz but whose face has been disfigured. After a plastic surgeon reconstructs it, she drifts through postwar Berlin, searching for her lost husband (Ronald Zehrfeld)—and when she finds him, he doesn't recognize her. *Phoenix* is a mystery and an entreaty to trust what our eyes tell us—even when it's not what our heart wants to hear.

BEFORE MIDNIGHT 2013

In Richard Linklater's 1995 *Before Sunrise,* we met two young people—Julie Delpy's Céline and Ethan Hawke's Jesse—who embark on a supposedly temporary romance. *Before Midnight,* from 2013, revisits the two nearly 20 years later: they're now in a committed partnership, with kids, and stress is taking its toll. During a family vacation Céline lashes out at Jesse, who tries to understand, overwhelmed by his helplessness. Few movies capture so beautifully—with some laughs, no less—what happens when communication between two people who love each other becomes dangerously fractured.

MELANCHOLIA 2011

In this dark semicomedy from the controversial Danish director Lars von Trier, two sisters—Kirsten Dunst's Justine, a new but inexplicably unhappy bride, and Charlotte Gainsbourg's Claire, an uptight wife and mother—face the end of the world. *Melancholia* is a heavy sigh of a movie and a gasp at the horrible wonder of it all—yet it's so beautiful to look at that it feels decadent. This is von Trier's way of reaching out, of telling us it will all be O.K. Maybe.

PERFORMANCES

MELISSA MCCARTHY, *CAN YOU EVER FORGIVE ME?* **2018**
Playing cantankerous, down-on-her-luck writer Lee Israel, who found a clever but wholly illegal way to support herself in early-1990s New York, McCarthy reveals a subtle, glittering truth: being able to laugh at absurd and terrible things that happen to you is the best route to survival.

MAHERSHALA ALI, *MOONLIGHT* **2016**
As a Miami drug dealer who goes out of his way to help a skinny, scared little kid, Ali shows how light can cut across darkness when one person stops to listen.

ANNETTE BENING, *20TH CENTURY WOMEN* **2016**
Playing a 50ish bohemian raising a son in 1970s Santa Barbara, Calif., Bening gets at the way middle-aged loneliness and contentment can be so intermingled, it's hard to tell which is which, walking the line with the skill of a beatnik ballerina.

RUTH NEGGA, *LOVING* **2016**
As Mildred Loving, part of the interracial couple whose arrest spurred groundbreaking civil rights legislation, Negga gives a radiant performance about the triumph of love over hate.

PHILIP SEYMOUR HOFFMAN, *A MOST WANTED MAN* **2014**
In one of his final performances, Hoffman plays a counterterrorist agent haunted by a past failure, hinting at his character's suffering with small gestures: he cups a whiskey glass as if it were part of the flesh of his hand.

CAVE OF FORGOTTEN DREAMS 2010

Werner Herzog, what a weirdo! But he's our weirdo. In this gorgeous, searching documentary from 2010, he brings his cameras into France's Chauvet Cave, examining Paleolithic drawings of trotting rhinos and galloping horses. Herzog keeps a running patter over all of it, in a kind of existential stand-up routine. As he muses about our ancestors' visions and dreams, his movie binds us all with a long and winding thread of humanity.

SOMEWHERE 2010

Sofia Coppola's delicate but potent coming-of-age story traces the strained but affectionate relationship between a self-absorbed actor, Stephen Dorff's Johnny Marco, and his preteen daughter, Elle Fanning's Cleo, a self-possessed woman in the making. Like all of Coppola's movies, *Somewhere* is beautifully observed, though there are long stretches where it may seem nothing is happening. But in life, it's so often the spaces that count; why can't it be the same in movies?

ALBUMS

By Maura Johnston

THE IDLER WHEEL …
FIONA APPLE 2012
Apple's fourth album is full of dualities: inner demons and materialized threats; arch observations and moments of true sadness; white-hot anger and tender love. The tension between those elements animates this unpredictable, skeletal album, which finds Apple in full vocal bloom as she gives words workouts: just hear how *alone* on the shambolic "Left Alone" is stretched, again and again, to its breaking point.

DAMN. **KENDRICK LAMAR** 2017
Picking just one of Lamar's releases for a decade-end list is tricky—even *Untitled Unmastered,* his 2016 collection of demos, is a solid hip-hop record. But with 2017's *DAMN.,* Lamar dived even deeper into his own head while expanding his sonic palette even further, adding Rihanna hooks (on the woozy "Loyalty") and Fox News drops (on the critic-aimed "DNA"), as well as his own superhero origin story to his knotty, allusion-filled rhymes. *DAMN.* is a snapshot of an artist at the peak of his powers who's prepping to take himself higher.

A SEAT AT THE TABLE
SOLANGE 2016
The third solo album by Solange Knowles is a necessary reframing of the protest-music ideal, using sonic space and Solange's resolutely acrobatic vocals to drive home its points about being black in 21st century America. *A Seat at the Table* pairs its plainspoken lyrics with light-on-its-feet soul: the pianos of "Cranes in the Sky" flutter around Solange's voice; "Don't Touch My Hair" blooms into a strutting assertion of the self; and "Junie" is an homage to funk pioneers Ohio Players.

SONGS

"ROLLING IN THE DEEP"
ADELE **2010**
The lead single from Adele's second album, *21,* was a four-minute primal scream shaped into a rolling-thunder epic, as her formidable alto made every charge against her ex add up until they were as high as a funeral pyre.

"ALL TOO WELL"
TAYLOR SWIFT **2012**
A midtempo guitar ballad with quietly devastating lyrics, "All Too Well" nods to Swift's country-prodigy past, but with the sort of maturity that transforms even the most dramatic moments of one's life into shades of gray.

"YOUNG DUMB & BROKE"
KHALID **2017**
This single by Texas-based pop prodigy Khalid is an anti-anthem for high school kids, executed with a smirk and some desert-heat synths.

"AIN'T IT FUN"
PARAMORE **2013**
Tennessee emo-pop band Paramore rebooted itself with its 2013 self-titled album, as vocalist Hayley Williams was newly energized by the possibilities of her band's bigger sound. On "Ain't It Fun," she uses that expanded palette—and a feisty gospel choir—to holler her way through the gnarlier bits of growing up.

"DRUNK ON A PLANE"
DIERKS BENTLEY **2014**
The title of "Drunk on a Plane" hints at a cautionary tale about the dangers of open-bar flying, but country wanderer Bentley's songwriting skills turn this sing-along into an affecting tale about being stuck with the fallout from a love gone wrong.

LEMONADE **BEYONCÉ** 2016
An up-close examination of love, fidelity and what happens when sacred bonds are ruptured, Beyoncé's *Lemonade,* in audio and video form, is as audacious as it is heartfelt, channeling the roller coaster of emotions that run through someone's mind after they've been hurt. The album is a joyride through genres—spiky rock on "Don't Hurt Yourself," pick-up country on "Daddy Lessons," cinematic hip-hop on "Freedom"—and living proof that in the wake of betrayal, finding oneself can be the best revenge.

THE WEIGHT OF THESE WINGS
MIRANDA LAMBERT 2016
Since her 2003 breakout on the long-gone reality show *Nashville Star,* Lambert has been one of country's brightest-burning lights. Her 2016 double album upends expectations of what it means to be "country." Over its two discs, she shows herself to be as much of a musical wanderer as the psychedelia-tinged "Highway Vagabond" promises, scuffing up her boots on "Ugly Lights," brooding over wayward nights on "Vice" and marinating in heartbreak on the devastating, delicate "Tin Man."

E·MO·TION
CARLY RAE JEPSEN 2015
After the early-decade blockbuster "Call Me Maybe," Canadian pop savant Jepsen went on a treasure hunt for musical gems. Her third album celebrated her search's success. *E · MO · TION* is packed with No. 1 songs in heaven, kicking off with the saxophone-led crush chronicle "Run Away With Me." Few pop singers can pack as much feeling into entire songs as Jepsen can imbue in a single syllable, and *E · MO · TION* sparkles in the darkest hours.

2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019

FEW POP SINGERS CAN PACK AS MUCH FEELING INTO ENTIRE SONGS AS JEPSEN CAN IMBUE IN A SINGLE SYLLABLE, AND E·MO·TION SPARKLES IN THE DARKEST HOURS

COLUMBIA VIA AP; PARKWOOD ENTERTAINMENT/COLUMBIA VIA AP; JEFF GOLDEN—GETTY IMAGES; COLUMBIA RECORDS

AURA OZUNA 2018

The second album from this Puerto Rican–born reggaetonero opens up the big tent of Latin music, which vaulted to popularity in the American mainland over the decade. Ozuna's fusion of reggaeton's riddims and the spare beats of pop-trap make songs like the simmering "Única" club-ready, while a collab with bachata king Romeo Santos, "Ibiza," shows that Ozuna's romanticism is just as potent when paired with that genre's crisp guitars. Cardi B's turn as his duet partner on "La Modela," meanwhile, puts the spotlight on the "Bodak Yellow" MC's sensitive side.

KALEIDOSCOPE DREAM MIGUEL 2012

Miguel's 2010 debut, *All I Want Is You,* tipped him as a rising star in R&B—but his second album, *Kaleidoscope Dream,* showed that his ambitions transcended genre. "Adorn" is a love song for an uneasy world, Miguel's vocals becoming increasingly animated as he vows comfort to his intended; "The Thrill" swaggers and sways, describing the precise point where ecstasy meets danger; "Candles in the Sun" is a song of existential protest. A nervy, joyous album, *Kaleidoscope Dream* captures the fractured-world perspective of its title.

BEAUTY PILL DESCRIBES THINGS AS THEY ARE BEAUTY PILL 2015

Chad Clark, the chief creative force behind Beauty Pill, put his band's process on full display while making this album, which was recorded during a two-week public session at the D.C.-area gallery Artisphere. But it's the exploratory spirit of Clark's punked-up version of art rock that makes songs like the churning "Afrikaner Barista" feel so great.

YOU WANT IT DARKER LEONARD COHEN 2016

The 2010s were marked by too many losses on the pop front: David Bowie, Prince, Whitney Houston, George Michael. Canadian bard Cohen provided a kaddish of sorts with his 14th studio album, which was released a few weeks before his death in 2016. Cohen, whose flair for the poetic remained with him until the end, interrogates the cracks that allow life's light to get in, his low burr framed by sparse arrangements that center his sardonic yet awed lyrics.

BOOKS

By TIME staff

FICTION

A VISIT FROM THE GOON SQUAD **JENNIFER EGAN** 2010
Egan's mold-breaking structure, which switches between different characters with each chapter, has become a favorite trick of modern novelists—but the book also captures something timeless: how aging can wreak havoc on connection.

MY BRILLIANT FRIEND **ELENA FERRANTE** 2011
Two girls bond when one of them drops the other's beloved doll down a shaft, the other follows suit and they try to retrieve them. So begins a tale that traverses the spectrum of interpersonal behaviors from cruelty to tenderness.

GONE GIRL **GILLIAN FLYNN** 2012
Crackling prose, palpable dread and sharply drawn characters are all present in Flynn's story of a marriage unraveled. But she elevates her page-turner above clichés, rendering a story that's both a sharp feminist critique and an engaging literary work.

AMERICANAH **CHIMAMANDA NGOZI ADICHIE** 2013
In a gimlet-eyed analysis of blackness in America and a warm, witty coming-of-age tale about finding your place in the world, a young writer travels from her native Nigeria to the U.S. to pursue an elite education.

LIFE AFTER LIFE **KATE ATKINSON** 2013
As Ursula Todd dies over and over again, the story of her lives is both moving and lighthearted, filled with comic asides and evocative scenes of humanity's many joys and sorrows.

TENTH OF DECEMBER **GEORGE SAUNDERS** 2013
In 10 immersive fictions, Saunders stirs reality and surrealism into an intoxicating cocktail, mixing sci-fi concepts, emotion and humor.

THE SELLOUT **PAUL BEATTY** 2015
A farmer in a primarily black and Latino neighborhood that was once a thriving city wants to save the town by resegregating the local high school. As with all great satirical literature, Beatty's novel is hilarious, not for the sake of laughs but in the service of scathing truth.

SING, UNBURIED, SING **JESMYN WARD** 2017
Ward's lyrical ghost story of a novel follows a fragile, drug-using black woman named Leonie on a road trip with her two children to bring the kids' white father home from prison. The book moves fluidly between the present and the past, uncovering how trauma shaped their family.

LITTLE FIRES EVERYWHERE **CELESTE NG** 2017
What begins as a suburban arson mystery—why would Isabelle Richardson set fire to her family's picture-perfect home in Shaker Heights, Ohio?—unfolds into a dizzying examination of abortion, motherhood, racial identity and class warfare.

THE NICKEL BOYS **COLSON WHITEHEAD** 2019
Whitehead wields his mastery over character and narrative in service of dramatizing the Jim Crow era to piercing effect, following the lives of two boys sentenced to a brutal reform school in 1960s Florida.

NONFICTION

THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS **ISABEL WILKERSON** 2010
In a profoundly moving book about hope and vision, the Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist tells the story of how millions of African Americans left the South for the North.

THE EMPEROR OF ALL MALADIES **SIDDHARTHA MUKHERJEE** 2010
We know and hate cancer, but thanks to Mukherjee, we can also begin to understand it. From its earliest origins to the forefront of the modern fight against it, the oncologist charts the long story of a reviled disease.

BEHIND THE BEAUTIFUL FOREVERS **KATHERINE BOO** 2012
Boo spends 40 months among the residents of the Annawadi slum—and tells the story of what she sees, through the eyes of Mumbai's garbage collectors, as inequality turns the poor against one another.

WILD **CHERYL STRAYED** 2012
In the wake of tragedy, Strayed embarks on a solo hike from California to Washington State on the Pacific Crest Trail, rendering a journey of grief and self-discovery in prose that—like her hike—turns loneliness, sorrow and regret into something transcendent.

WAVE **SONALI DERANIYAGALA** 2013
About a quarter of a million people were killed in the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami—among them Deraniyagala's parents, husband and two sons. Her story is bruising but intimate.

BETWEEN THE WORLD AND ME **TA-NEHISI COATES** 2015
Writing a letter to his son, Coates illustrates how black bodies have been brutalized at every turn in American history, from centuries of slavery to Jim Crow lynchings to the police killings of Eric Garner and Michael Brown.

EVICTED **MATTHEW DESMOND** 2016
In this deeply empathetic book, the sociologist follows eight families in Milwaukee as they navigate paltry paychecks and court dates in the fight to keep their homes.

THE ORDER OF TIME **CARLO ROVELLI** 2018
The theoretical physicist gives poetic voice to the common human experience of moving through time, leaving the reader more equipped to understand how exactly that happens.

BAD BLOOD **JOHN CARREYROU** 2018
The reporter recounts the gripping rise and fall of Elizabeth Holmes, once hailed as "the next Steve Jobs," and her company Theranos, which claimed to have developed blood-testing technology but was running a giant scam on its investors and customers.

THESE TRUTHS **JILL LEPORE** 2018
Written in a time of political turmoil, the sweeping history focuses on the core ideas of the U.S. and the contradictions—from free speech and its suppression to liberty and slavery—that have animated the country since its founding.

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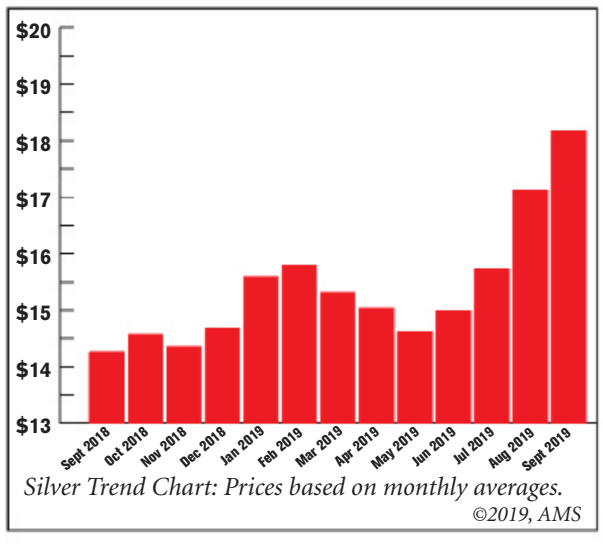

Silver Trend Chart: Prices based on monthly averages.
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7 Questions

Alfre Woodard One of Hollywood's most versatile stars on her film about the death penalty and finding opportunity when doors were closed

In your new movie *Clemency*, you play a prison warden in a facility with death-row inmates. What did you do to prepare? My filmmaker, Chinonye Chukwu, took me on a tour of prisons in Ohio, and I met with three female wardens and a deputy warden.

Was there something they had in common? They all came to their positions from the mental-health professions, or social services, or public health. They were all women trained to deal with human beings in extremis. And they were solid. They would all be women I'd be at a book club with or go to church with. They were people who are trained in not being demonstrative emotionally. But as we see with [my character] Bernadine, overseeing an execution, especially multiple ones, weighs on the person, because they're putting to death a person they know. It takes 10 to 20 years to exhaust all appeals. So it's like turning to the person who has been in your cubicle for a decade and saying, "O.K., Bob, we've got to put you down today." That takes a toll. Especially because you said, "I will see you through this with dignity." They never put anyone to death who didn't thank them.

Do you have opinions about the death penalty? I do, but they're beside the point. I do my activism that I have since I was 14—that's my life. I see myself in our tradition as a griot. The griots were the ones that told the tribe the story. They hold up the mirror. The tribe sees itself, and reflects. I knew nothing about being a warden. Didn't even know women wardens existed. Who could they be? Did they step on bird eggs when they were little girls? I've got to find that character, discover that human being's point of view. I really respect those women.

"IT'S SO WEIRD THAT NOBODY EVER RATS ME OUT ABOUT HOW WACKY MY LIFE CAN BE"

DIA DIPASUPIL—GETTY IMAGES

This is also a very interesting portrait of a couple. You've had a 36-year marriage [to screenwriter Roderick Spencer]. Did you bring any of that to this performance? I don't use my personal life ever, even if it's like thinking about putting your dog down to make you weepy. Or remembering that time my pants fell down when I was trying to cross Wilshire Boulevard and I got hysterical laughing.

These are hypothetical examples? It's so weird that nobody ever rats me out about how wacky my life can be.

You have played something like 120 different roles in horror, comedy, melodrama, action. Gangster! I was a gangster. And the President! Not at the same time. I could do that now.

Why do you feel like you've been able to avoid being typecast? If I had the access that some of my Caucasian colleagues had, what I've done might lay out on a spreadsheet differently. But because those doors didn't open, it gave me the opportunity to seek other ways of entering. When something was a dry riverbed, I found water in other places.

Of all those roles, what do people in airports recognize you for the most? That's what's so wonderful. It could be anywhere on the timeline. Every five or six years, I try to do something that I know would appeal to people between the ages of 12 and 18, because you have to introduce yourself to each generation. That gives you longevity. Businessmen will start to talk to me and I'm thinking, "O.K., it's going to be *Star Trek,*" but they'll say, "I know this is weird, but could you sing the 'Hug-a-Bug Bear' song [from the 1993 romance film *Heart and Souls*] for me?" I'm not going to sing that! The theme of it, though, is that everyone will get a little misty telling me their story and why it means so much to them. I am never alone.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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